

The Practice and the Reproduction of Tourist Landscapes in Contemporary Japan

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Declaration

I, Eriko Yasue hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Date: 25/07/2011

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Abstract

My thesis explores the ways in which Japanese landscape and modern tourism mutually constitute and influence each other. It argues that the reproduction of tourist landscapes is the dynamic relationship between place-images, discourses, and embodied practices enacted in sites. Based on a case study of Asuke, a popular destination in Japan, this research analyses the formation and the practices of tourist landscapes in the context of contemporary Japanese domestic tourism.

My analysis considers tourist landscape as a social-cultural construction where shifting social values, meanings and sensibilities are inscribed. It looks at the changing ideologies of societies and the shifting interpretations of place in modern Japan. In particular, the thesis highlights the ‘practice’ dimension of tourist landscapes in order to investigate how constructed visibility and materiality are used and accepted by contemporary Japanese. Furthermore, I foreground the crucial role of individuals/social groups in the process of development and popularisation of the modern idea of landscape in Japan with the assistance of tourism.

By using visual ethnography and interviews, the empirical study of Asuke confirms that the tourist landscape is simultaneously shaped and re-shaped both by visual and textual representations and embodied practices in actual sites. The reproduction of tourist landscapes in Asuke is intimately linked with the sense of ‘Japaneseness’. Such constructed landscapes in Asuke are repeatedly practiced by different social actors through their mobility and visibility. Furthermore, exploring the actual landscape experiences through photography reveals the fluidity of relations between different social positions – the gazer and the gazed. Through attention to the changing forms of representation of ‘Japanese landscape’ and practices of modern tourism, this thesis explores the potential of the modern notion of landscape to examine the social construction of difference in a non-western society.

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Abbreviations

ATA: Asuke Tourism Association

ATCA: Association of Townscape Conservation in Asuke (*Asuke no machinami wo mamoru kai*)

AT21: Asuke Tourism 21st Century Club

IPDs: Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Historic Buildings

JNR: Japanese National Railway (current Japan Railways)

ST: Society of Tankoro

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Introduction

The focus of this thesis is the relationship between Japanese modern tourism and landscape. Contemporary tourism is endlessly constructed through a variety of images, discourses, and embodied practices. At the same time, landscape experiences in tourist sites play an important role in the construction of tourist imaginaries and experiences. Such intersections of place-images, discourses, and experiences that emerge through modern tourism are important themes for geographers to explore. Based on an empirical study of Asuke, one established tourist destination in Japan, this thesis examines the ways in which Japanese landscapes and modern tourism culture mutually constitute one another.

Coming from a background in tourism studies, I have been interested in the tourist experience particularly in relation to the construction of landscape. My main research interests in the early stages of my PhD were practices and performances of Japanese tourists in landscape sites in Japan. However, during the research process, I gradually came to realise that practices and experiences in and with tourist landscapes are rather complex. The reproduction of tourist landscapes intrinsically involves multiple social actors with different intentions. However, the practices of modern tourism and landscape formation mutually constitute and influence each other. This realisation motivated me to explore the dynamic relationship between modern Japanese tourism and landscape.

The historical and cultural differences of ‘landscape’ between western countries and Japan also influenced my research. Landscapes have been developed through history in various styles with different names in different cultures. In Europe, the notion of

landscape is strongly connected with the discovery of linear perspective that took place in Renaissance Italy (Cosgrove 1984). Such techniques of depicting pastoral vistas were powerful devices to convey a realistic representation of the world, which reflected the emerging ‘consciousness of European elite’ (Cosgrove 1984: 1).

On the other hand, the history of landscapes or perception and representation of places in Japan can be dated back to the Heian period (794-1192) (Berque 1990). According to French cultural geographer Augustin Berque, based on Chinese aesthetic conceptions/schemes to represent nature, Japanese ways of representing nature were developed through composing poems formerly practiced by only a small elite circle, such as the ruling class or aristocracy of the time. By connecting it with sensibilities towards nature, the conceptions of aesthetics developed in China were transformed and localised into a ‘Japanese’ conventional idea of landscape (Berque 1990: 50). Although such a conventional perception of landscape/sensibilities towards nature in Japan had been influenced by several western aesthetic conceptions before Japan opened itself to western countries in the late 19th century, it was during the Meiji period (1868-1912) that the notion of modern landscape became familiar to the social elites (Berque 1990: 64).

Given the historical and cultural differences in the meaning and practices of landscapes between western countries and Japan, the case study of Japanese tourist landscapes presents an opportunity to explore the complexities of the formation and of the practices of tourist landscapes in a non-western country. Besides, the historical and cultural backgrounds with regards to the perception of place in Japan provide a particularly valuable field for considering the formation and transformation of cultural meanings, ideas, and practices through landscapes as a geographical metaphor. Moreover they enable us to highlight the dynamics of how two modern concepts, landscape and tourism, were intertwined together in Japan. In other words, I attempt to examine the process according to which Japanese landscapes are produced and ‘democratised’ through practices of modern tourism.

Within the field of tourism studies, there is a growing call to go beyond ‘Anglo-Western centric’ analyses in order to consider the increasing ‘Non-Western forms of travel, most notably in Asia’ (Winter *et al.* 2008b, Winter 2009: 21). Given that Asuke, my case study, is a characteristically popular destination among the Japanese, the understanding of Japanese domestic tourism provide useful insights on non-western practices and industries in Asian tourism.

The example of the ‘formation’ of modern concepts of landscape in Japan sheds light on the changing forms of representations and shifting interpretations of place in the modern world. By focusing on visual images as an ideological device, I draw attention to the formation of landscape that arises from the changing ideologies of societies in the past and present (Cosgrove 1984, Duncan 1990, S. Daniels 1993, C. Nash 1996). This is done by considering landscapes as a way of seeing that structures visual ‘orders’ and constitutes imaginative geographies. In this sense, landscape is the cultural product of a process of inclusion and exclusion, which reflects interests and intentions of the modern subject. However, such notions need to be supplemented with the ‘practices of seeing’ when it comes to considering how landscapes are used by people (M. Crang 1997: 360).

Perspectives on the idea of practice enable researchers to look at the dynamic dimensions of modern tourism, especially with regards to landscape experience and place consumption. In particular this study draws attention to practices of landscapes that are undertaken by different actors whose social positions revolve around modern tourism. Exploring ‘practice’ elucidates both the ways in which the notion of landscape functions as an ideological device that shapes cultural practices in different historical periods and the ways in which new social values and meaning inscribed into landscapes are accepted. More importantly, this thesis aims to show the implications that practices of constructed visibility and materiality have in tourist sites. Such perspectives on the ‘visual image’ and ‘practice’ of landscape enable us to reconsider the power and limitations of visual geographical imaginations that are activated through modern tourism. To put it another way, in this thesis the investigation of issues central to cultural geography – the production of geographical

imaginings and its relationship with embodied practices – will be developed with the assistance of tourist landscape.

Practices of modern tourism have important implications for the ways in which landscape and its cultural meaning are produced and reproduced. Tourist places and their landscape representations are constructed and new meaning added also through the practices of national and local tourist industries (Selwyn 1996b, Crang 2004, Cartier and Lew 2005). On the other hand, tourists themselves are active forces in the production of images of sites through their imagination and experiences (Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004). However, the complexities of the (re)production of tourist landscapes involving different social actors such as tourists, residents, and tourist industries are open to questions: how do different social identities intersect through modern tourism? How are their practices and experiences related to the construction of tourist landscapes? In what ways are multiple points of view and shifting cultural meanings intertwined in the production of tourist landscapes?

To clarify the process of the formation of ‘Japanese tourist landscapes’, I pay special attention to the question of ‘who produces the landscape’ in different historical periods. Such questions were formerly highlighted by Denis Cosgrove’s work on the formation of symbolic landscapes in the European context (Cosgrove 1984). However, it is rarely researched in non-western contexts. My aim, therefore, with the current thesis is to explore the transformation of the modern idea of landscape by focusing on the crucial role of identifiable individuals and social groups in Japan.

Inspired by recent discussions on visual ethnography (Pink 2001, Larsen 2004, G. Rose 2007), I opt for conducting a ‘visual ethnography of Asuke’ to investigate the dynamic relationship between modern tourism and landscape experiences in contemporary Japan. Conducting ‘visual ethnography’ enables me to shed light on ‘*social difference*,’ and the ‘effects of the *social context of viewing* and with *the visualities spectators* bring to their viewing’ (G. Rose 2007: 12) in the production and reproduction of the power of vision and its practices in a Japanese context. I also use interviews to account for different discourses, representations, practices, and

social contexts that lie behind the formation and practices of tourist landscapes in Asuke. These techniques offer an opportunity to discover the practices and the dispositions behind the production of tourist landscapes that deliver and visualise particular social and cultural values.

Research Aims and Questions

The main aim of this thesis is to understand the reproduction of tourist landscapes in the context of domestic Japanese tourism with a particular focus on the ‘practice’ dimension of contemporary tourist landscapes. My research sets out to provide a satisfactory answer to the following research questions:

- In what way was the modern notion of landscape introduced, represented and developed in the process of modernisation of Japan?
- How were/are new social values, meanings and sensibilities inscribed into modern Japanese landscape delivered to and accepted by the Japanese public? In what ways were/are they inscribed into the tourist place?
- What are the particular conditions and contexts in which tourist landscapes are shaped in the context of Japanese domestic tourism?
- Who creates and inscribes new cultural meanings and sensibilities?
- How are tourist landscapes practiced and performed by different social actors? What effects do such practices generate?

This thesis is comprised of seven chapters. **Chapter one** explores the relevant literature and provides a conceptual framework to investigate the formation and the practices of tourist landscapes in modern Japan. **Chapter two** provides a background to this study by tracing the introduction and reception of the European notion of landscapes in the early period of modern Japan, with a particular focus on one influential book entitled *On Japanese Landscape*. **Chapter three** is concerned with the formation of another ‘Japanese landscape’ that occurred in the late period

of modern Japan. It highlights the massive tourism campaign entitled ‘Discover Japan’ organised by one advertising company in the 1970s in order to provide a cultural and historical context for understanding the formation and practices of contemporary tourist landscapes in Japan. **Chapter four** sets the methodological framework of my thesis by discussing my choice of the research site, the methodology employed and the post-fieldwork reflection that underlie my analysis and writing practices.

There are three main analytical chapters. **Chapter five** explores the promotion of tourism and community-based tourism development driven by the local community and local tourism authority in Asume. It considers how the formation of tourist landscapes in Asume is a process of inscription of ‘nature’ and ‘history’ into visual images in order to emphasise the cultural uniqueness of Asume. **Chapter six** is dedicated to a discussion on how image-making activities take place in the historical townscape of Asume through the organisation of a specific tourism event. It also examines the role of a local tourism development group in re-producing historical townscape. Furthermore, the chapter highlights how the bodily displays of different social actors in a tourist site and their mobility shapes and helps visualise a contemporary ‘Japanese atmosphere’ by looking at both staging the old streetscapes and a specific style of dressing. **Chapter seven** examines two different tourist practices of natural landscapes in Asume – red autumn leaf viewing and dogtooth violet viewing by focusing on the relationship between the materiality of space, touristic visual images and discourses and photographic performances at actual sites.

Chapter One

Theoretical Framework: Re-thinking Landscapes and Tourism

Tourism is an active agent in the creative destruction of places in what can be a violent, contested, unequal, but sometimes welcomed, transformative and productive process. The process is one of co-construction where the destination is fashioned between different actors... Tourism is part of a reflexive process where all the actors learn from experiences (good, bad, and indifferent). Thus the industry adapts and develops, tourists respond with changing tastes and preferences, and locals rework their identities and strategies in changing conditions.

(M. Crang 2004: 75)

Introduction

Denis Cosgrove defines the notion of landscape within the context of cultural geography as follows:

Landscape has a complex history as an organizing and analytical concept within cultural geography. Its usage has varied from reference to the tangible, measurable ensemble of material forms in a given geographical area, to the representation of those forms in various media such as painting, texts, photographs or performances, to the desired, remembered and somatic spaces of the imagination and the senses.

(Cosgrove 2003: 249)

Such oscillation makes the term landscape ‘complex’. However, the question I raise here is: in which ways are these aspects of ‘landscape’ reconfigured in view of modern tourism practices? Visual images play key roles in the practices of modern

tourism (Crouch and Lübbren 2003). Meanwhile, tourist places and their landscape representations are also constituted and new meanings and values added through the practices of national and local tourist industries (Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004, Crang 2004, Cartier and Lew 2005). Besides, tourists themselves are one of the most powerful engines in the production of tourist places and their images (Edensor 1998). In this chapter, I develop the conceptual framework for the notion of tourist landscape which I will adopt in order to explore the dynamic relationship between modern tourism and landscape. Drawing from recent work, mainly in cultural geography and tourism studies, on the notion of landscape and tourism, I discuss the conceptualisation of the modern idea of landscape and how it fits into the wider context of modern tourism practices.

I begin this chapter by reviewing some of the influential work on landscape studies that emerged in the 1980s since these studies underpin my analysis throughout the thesis. I also stress the importance of the notion of practices to fully comprehend processes of reception of new landscape meanings, experiences, and sensibilities. Moreover, I turn my attention to existing tourism studies to gain useful insights for the understanding of contemporary tourism. I also discuss the significance and usefulness of tourist practices and performances in exploring the process of reception of tourist landscapes where new meanings, values and sensibilities are embedded. Particular emphasis is placed upon emblematic forms of modern tourist performances – gazing and photographing – which I employ to analyse landscape experiences in tourist sites. Finally, I highlight the importance of the shifting social positions of different social actors who get involved in the formation and practices of tourist landscapes.

1. 1 Re-thinking the Idea of Landscape

1.1.1 Landscape as a Way of Seeing

In the 1980s and 1990s several cultural geographers, such as Denis Cosgrove, Stephan Daniels and Peter Jackson, proposed new interpretations of cultural

landscapes in human geography (Cosgrove 1984; 1985, Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, Cosgrove and Daniels 1988, S. Daniels 1993). The most significant contribution to landscape studies in this stream of theories is possibly Cosgrove's seminal work on landscape as a 'way of seeing' (Cosgrove 1984; 1985). In his influential work, he states that:

The landscape idea presents a way of seeing - a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationship with it, and through which they have commented on social relations.

(Cosgrove 1984: 1)

Thus, his discussion on the landscape notion as a way of seeing opened up a space to question how landscape is associated with social relations. The establishment of the link between symbolic landscapes and social theory enables researchers to look at the production of landscapes as a social product that arises in particular social and cultural contexts. It also urges cultural geographers to pay attention to 'an analysis of the social relations through which cultures are produced and reproduced' (Jackson 1992: 23).

There is a strong link between linear perspective and the development of the landscape idea; as Cosgrove states 'the basic theory and technique of the landscape ways of seeing was linear perspective' (Cosgrove 1985: 45). In Renaissance Italy, the discovery of linear or single point perspective, regarded as a technique to depict the truth or reality among painters, prompted the development of scenery representation. The Venetian painters in Renaissance Italy were good at painting pastoral vistas that conveyed 'a sense of the real external world' (Cosgrove 1984: 64).

The discovery of linear perspective provided the capitalist bourgeois, the patron of art in Italy, with the power to show, control, and structure spaces and human actions through a realistic representation of the world. Cosgrove relates the power of the visual underpinned by linear perspective to 'a dimension of 'European elite consciousness at an identifiable period in the evolution of European societies'

(Cosgrove 1984: 1). He attempted to establish the link between new forms of representations of land and the power of the spectator who gained new techniques of vision, stressing that absolute power over space is given to the spectator as detached subject (Cosgrove 1984; 1985). Power and control over fields and farms by their owners were constructed through representations of landscape painting:

Landscape is thus a way of seeing, a composition and structuring of the world so that it may be appropriated by a detached, individual spectator to whom an illusion of order and control is offered through the composition of space according to the certainties of geometry.

(Cosgrove 1985: 55)

Thus, the relationship between the authority of the looking subject and the visuality of space is established through a perspective that ‘gives the eye absolute mastery over space’ (Cosgrove 1985: 48).

Moreover, an important aspect throughout Cosgrove’s study of landscape evolution is that the landscape vision covers the real conditions of life and space. As Wylie points out, ‘this “idyllised” vision of landscape covered up and concealed the actual material conditions of Italian country life’ (Wylie 2007: 62). For instance, far from the reality of rural life in Sixteenth Century Italy, an ‘imaginative harmony’ was inscribed into landscape painting. Cosgrove shows that ‘in fact this is far from the landscape of daily life but an imaginative harmony in which no vulgar *mezzadri* or *livelli* struggle to meet their rents nor where arduous work upsets the balanced calm of man and nature’ (Cosgrove 1984: 123-125 *Italic original*). Thus, Cosgrove proposed that the landscape in that period can be considered as in ‘alignment with the shifts and inflections of power and control in society’ (1984: 140).

Through a detailed analysis of the evolution of the landscape idea in the European visual tradition from the Renaissance until the end of the nineteenth century, Cosgrove clearly showed that landscape is a very European modern idea. Furthermore, he revealed that visual ideology is associated with representations, class relations, property, and capitalism. Landscape is the product of a process of exclusion and inclusion through the construction of the visual. In this sense,

employing the European idea of landscape enables us to explore the way in which authorship is constructed or concealed while the division between the emergent looking subject and the external world emerges. It also makes it possible to examine the ways in which contemporary subjectivities are created through landscape images which are constructed according to social, cultural and historical conditions. In my thesis, I concentrate on the construction of the looking subject and the strategic inclusion/exclusion embedded into the visual in the late modern period of Japan. By taking a closer look at the ‘discovery’ of Japanese landscapes in the transitional period of modernisation, I also attempt to reveal how particular conditions and contexts affect the emergence and popularisation of the new ‘Japanese landscape’ (see chapters two and three).

A number of geographers have developed and refined Cosgrove’s work so far. Noteworthy is the idea of ‘landscape as text’ (J. Duncan and N. Duncan 1988, J. Duncan 1990) which likens landscape to a written text. By applying post-structuralist theories, and in particular the French critic Roland Barthes’s work on semiotics, to the study of landscapes, landscapes can be regarded as being constructed linguistically, and as a signifying system through which the social system is communicated. J. Duncan suggests:

The landscape, I would argue is one of the central elements in a cultural system, for as an ordered assemblage of objects, a text, acts as a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored. In order to understand this structured and structuring quality of landscape, we must first inquire into what is signified by the landscape. I will call this the signification of landscape. Second, we must examine the manner in which this signification takes place; I will call this the rhetoric of the landscape.

(J. Duncan 1990: 17)

Such understanding of landscape indicates that landscape as a representation can have multiple meanings or layers. According to J. Duncan, a ‘producer’ or ‘creator’ can assign multiple meanings to landscapes, although such meanings cannot possibly capture all the individual ‘readings’ of landscape. The concept of ‘landscape as text’ elucidates the diverse interactions between the subject and the

world. If landscape can be read as text, then it is not merely a visual representation but also a communication tool that mediates meanings and values between people and places. I suggest that the idea of landscape as text leads us to consider the polysemy or multivocality of landscape. In other words, I argue for the idea that landscape is open to multiple readings undertaken by different social actors. Therefore in my study of the formation of tourist landscapes in contemporary Japan, I explore the shifting meanings and values that are embedded into landscapes by different social actors in different historical periods. I take a closer look at the shift of ideological conceptions of historical townscape in Asume, my focus in this thesis (chapters five and six).

In addition, J. Duncan and N. Duncan have noted that ‘one of the most important roles that landscape plays in the social process is ideological, supporting a set of ideas, values and unquestioned assumptions about the way a society is, or should be organized’ (J. Duncan and N. Duncan 1988: 123). Their work has focused on landscape and its structures in which social relations are inscribed. By utilising a metaphor of text, landscape becomes a space where social and cultural orders are produced and reproduced while it can ‘make both subjects and objects appear as fixed, codified, reified’ (J. Duncan 1990: 19).

While J. Duncan pays attention to how ideology is inscribed into landscape by using a metaphor of text, the multiplicity of landscape interpretation can also be linked to the formation of identity. As Bender suggests:

Landscapes are thus polysemic, and not so much artefact as in/a process of construction and reconstruction...The landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it. It is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group, or nation-state.

(Bender 1993: 3)

S. Daniels also highlights how landscapes articulate national identity. He examined the ways landscape imagery forms national identity in England and the United States by analysing representations produced by creators identifiable in both regions (S.

Daniels 1993). S. Daniels discusses the relationship between landscape depiction and historical narration in terms of interpretation and re-interpretation of rural, urban and industrial scenes. He notes that 'landscape imagery is not merely a reflection of, or distraction from, more pressing social, economic or political issues; it is often a powerful mode of knowledge and social engagement' (S. Daniels 1993: 8). His exploration of landscape imagery stresses that landscape is part of the formation process of social group identities.

The cultural construction that lies between landscape meanings of nature and landscape photography are also discussed by Nye through an example of the Grand Canyon as a national icon. Nye's research shows the dynamic of photographic constructions of the Grand Canyon and its repeated inscriptions of cultural meanings of nature (Nye 2003). His analysis also demonstrates the crucial role of landscape photography as a tool to inscribe governmental ideology. Apart from their support to national identification, photographic constructions also reflect 'the desires and expectations of those who made them and looked at them' (Nye 2003: 95). Based on such notions, my work addresses the crucial role of specific social groups and/or individuals in producing modern Japanese landscapes and popularising new ideas and values. It also attempts to reveal the ways in which different landscapes serve as a tool to convey different values and aesthetics according to historical and social conditions.

These notions regarding the formation of national landscapes can be extended to the discussion of the importance of landscape to Japanese tourism. In particular, I would like to emphasise the necessity of addressing the relationship between the formation of Japanese landscape and national identity. For instance, Soper shows how the construction of Mauritius tourism landscape helps to form 'Mauritius identity' (Soper 2008). She concludes that the development of cultural heritage and its landscapes is crucial to nation-building in Mauritius within a European colonial perspective (Soper 2008).

In addition, I want to consider how national landscape ideologies in modern Japan have been produced and reproduced with the assistance of tourism as popular culture.

Tim Edensor addresses the relationship between the formation and circulation of national landscapes and tourism as popular culture (Edensor 2002). He points out that existing work on nationalism and national identity has not paid sufficient attention to the production of national identity through popular culture and in everyday life in contemporary society. Furthermore, he discusses that the iconic and privileged landscapes where national ideologies are inscribed are updated and reinforced with the help of contemporary technologies of representation (Edensor 2002: 40-42).

In my study, the relationship between national landscape ideologies and tourism will be particularly useful in understanding the formation of Japanese landscape and its relationship with modern tourism practices. Specifically, the relationship between the constitution of national identity and Japanese landscape in the course of changing practices of travel/tourism in the 20 century will constitute an essential part of this research (chapter two and three). In chapter two, I attempt to explain this by focusing on the moment of the emergence of a new conception of 'Japanese nature' in the late 19th century Japan. Following this, in chapter three I highlight the subsequent example of the formation of the national landscape ideology, which was driven by the mass media in the 1970's Japan.

The discursive landscape representations have been examined by S. Daniels and Cosgrove's work also using the idea of landscape as 'theatre' (S. Daniels and Cosgrove 1993). S. Daniels and Cosgrove focus on the relationship between spectacle/image and text/word on the landscape. They attempt to examine the struggle at two historical and geographical junctures in European history. Specifically, through researching the representations on the painted images of spectacle and the written text of a novel, they highlight that landscape is the discursive terrain on which the struggle between the different codes of meaning construction takes place (S. Daniels and Cosgrove 1993).

The conceptualisation of landscape as a way of seeing has advocated consideration of landscape formations that arise from the changing ideologies of societies in the past and present (Cosgrove 1984, J. Duncan 1990, S. S. Daniels 1993, C. Nash

1996). However, one aspect that the notion of 'landscape as visual ideology' has not paid much attention to is the 'practices of seeing' of visual images (M. Crang 1997: 360). Crang points out that this implication foregrounds 'the limitations in looking solely at cultural products without looking at how they are taken up and used' (1997: 360).

Cosgrove has conducted a case study on an inter-war campaign for access to wild upland countryside to which 'landscape as a way of seeing' is not applicable (Cosgrove 1984: 268). One of the most famous campaigns took place in 1932 at Kinder Scout and the aim of the organizers was 'not to *see* landscape, so much as to experience it physically – to walk it, climb it or cycle through it. The faculty of sight rarely seems a major concern' (Cosgrove 1984: 268). In this case, for working class urban dwellers, British countryside was not meant to be seen. Rather it was a place to be experienced through walking, rambling and cycling (Cosgrove 1984). This suggests that there is a limitation of the idea of landscape as a visual ideology when considering landscape formations that are underpinned by embodied practices and multi sensual experiences. However, the important point here is that such bodily practices are ubiquitous types of tourist behaviour that allows tourists to consume landscape experiences. In other words, the landscape image does not foreground the embodied aspects of viewing subjects but it constructs the division between the observer and the observed.

Conceptual models of landscape as a cultural image are significant for understanding and advancing the ways in which we employ the idea of landscape as a geographical concept. However, scholars examining the social and cultural practices of landscape have recently turned their attention to the dynamics of landscape formation through embodied practices, which I will discuss in the next section. The study of embodied practices and performances in relation to landscape experience and formation is fruitful because embracing such ideas enables us to look into the ordinariness and the banality of modern tourist experiences. It also helps to unfold the process of construction and consumption of landscapes experiences in modern tourism that involves a variety of bodily practices and sensibilities. Thereby

the conceptualisation of the landscape idea as a way of seeing is complemented by research that focuses on the practices of landscapes.

1.1.2 Landscape: Embodied Practices

In recent years, landscape studies in cultural geography have shifted their focus from the notion of landscape as a representation to the practices of landscape and in particular ‘the simultaneous and ongoing shaping of self, body and landscape via practice and performance’ (Wylie 2007: 166). The discussion of ‘practice’, whose origins are to be found in critical theory, performance studies, feminism and post-Marxist social theory, has indicated the absence of this concept from landscape studies in cultural geography (Cresswell 2003). Inspired by ‘practice theory’ in social and critical theory, some cultural geographers have argued that it is necessary to rethink and reconceptualise the interpretation of landscapes, in particular, the relationship between subject as an observer and the observed (M. Rose 2002, Cresswell 2003, Hinchliffe 2003, Wylie 2005).

For those theorists of practice, practices are generally considered as ‘embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding’ (Schatzki 2001: 2). Theories of practice are indebted to the work of Merleau-Ponty, who was predominantly interested in the ‘body-subject’. As Cresswell denotes:

Practice is about ‘fluidity, flow and repetition. It is about the negotiation between continuity and change. Practice has been seen by social and cultural theorists as an antidote to the representational – as an unexamined component of the everyday.

(Cresswell 2003: 270)

The metaphor of practice proposes an alternative to the more static and discursive notion of landscape which is dependent on vision. The practice of landscape is not static but a changing set of everyday life processes and habitual routines. Therefore, it can be argued that the integration of landscape with practices helps to trace the

social and cultural processes of reproduction or the creation of landscapes which generate lived, embodied, and practised geographical knowledge (Cresswell 2003).

At the same time, the emergence of non-representational theory (Thrift 1996; 1997; 1999), or a shift from a “text” and representations, to performance and practices’ (Nash 2000: 654) in cultural geography has opened up a new field of research for human geographers: ‘the body, emotions, spatial practice, interaction, performance, ‘things,’ technology’ (Söderström 2005: 14). As non-representational theory highlights the lived body, bodily experiences and performances, cultural geographers have paid more attention to the ‘embodied acts of landscaping’ (Lorimer 2005: 85).

Recent concerns about embodied acts of landscaping have triggered lively debates seeking to rethink the idea of ‘landscape’ in particular within cultural geography. Wylie argues that this emerging area of research occasioned ‘a move from “images of landscape” to “landscaping”’ (Wylie 2007: 166). As Crouch, Aronsson and Wahlstrom argue, non-representational geographies would complement ‘interpretations of the world that prioritise representations by engaging a path through which those representations may be negotiated in everyday life’ (Crouch *et al.* 2001: 258). Non-representational theory does not prioritise representations, contexts, and imaginations of landscapes while it pays careful attention to the understanding and interpretation of the relationship between practice and representation. In this regard, non-representational theory provides important ideas for understanding practice of landscapes, or ‘landscaping’, which are produced and reproduced through embodied practices and performances.

Furthermore, the discussion on landscape in non-representational theory highlights the ways in which embodied practices, performances and landscapes mutually constitute each other. Drawing from insights about non-representational theory by Dewsbury *et al.*, Wylie writes,

The act of representating (speaking, painting, writing) is understood by non-representational theory to be in and of the world of embodied practice and

performance, rather than taking place outside of that world, or being anterior to, and determinative of, that world. Or, to put this another way, the world is understood to be continually in the making—processual and performative—rather than stabilised or structured via messages in texts and images
(Wylie 2007: 164)

Thus, the insights on non-representational theory help to inform new understandings of the relationship between human being and landscapes, i.e. how the self and the landscape mutually constitute each other through embodied practices and performances.

Non-representational theory also highlights the tactile dimension of landscape experience. Lewis discusses the possibilities offered by a sensuous appreciation of both the human body and the physical world by focusing on the embodied practice of adventure climbing (Lewis 2000). Lewis notes that ‘to engage with the world tactually is to situate oneself consciously in that world to have a potentially unmediated relationship with it’ (Lewis 2000: 59). These notions highlight the continued significance of the relationship between human being and landscapes.

These studies underscore that movement during habitual routines in everyday life, such as walking in town, driving to work and going to lunch, helps to comprehend the dynamic interplay between people and space. The outcome of this movement is part of the processes of landscape reproduction. In most landscape studies to date, landscape is a highly visual idea, removed from the subject; in short, the viewer exists constantly outside of it. However, it seems useful to employ the notion of landscape as embodied practices in order to explore the ordinariness or the ‘banal seduction’ which the culture and practices of modern tourism convey (Pons *et al.* 2009: 6).

John Wylie discusses the process of distinctive articulations of self and landscape through walking along the South West Coast Path in the UK and narrating his walking experience. Although this work is experimental, it can be argued that landscape might be described with regards to ‘the entwined materialities and sensibilities with which we act and sense’ (Wylie 2005: 245). In this analysis,

landscape appears through the act of walking and narrating and is conceived as a 'performative *milieu* of coastal walking' (Wylie 2005: 235). Thus, embodied practices such as walking and narrating act as key factors to shape the performative role of landscape. Moreover, Tim Edensor examines landscape as a space to be criss-crossed and imprinted on the bodily presence through tourist performances at the Taj Mahal (Edensor 1998). By focusing on four kinds of performances – walking, gazing, photographing and remembering – played out at the world-wide symbolic site, Edensor illustrates how landscapes are inscribed by the bodily presence and its movements (1998). His analysis also shows that the varied tourist performances are attributed to the diversity of tourists' social identities, who have different historical and geographical relations with the site (Edensor 1998).

In part Jonas Larsen conceptualises landscape as a stage where people perform their vision through photography (Larsen 2004). Special attention is paid to a visual performance – photographing – at 'picturesque sublime' site in Denmark by stressing 'the sociality, creativity and embodiment of tourist photography' (Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004: 69. chapter 5 based on Larsen 2004). Larsen foregrounds the importance of the act of photographing in the production of holiday image (2004). Thus, the idea of landscape practices enables us to unravel several dimensions of landscape experiences in contemporary tourism. Tourist landscapes are produced and reproduced repeatedly through practices that are performed in and with sites. The practice of landscape in tourism is a diverse collection of performances that includes visibility, movements, activities, sensuous experiences and materiality.

The above discussion on the notion of landscape in cultural geography and tourism studies raises several questions in terms of landscape formations and consumption through modern tourism practices. My thesis considers the construction and valorisation of cultural representations and meanings as well as sensibilities through tourism by exploring the practice of landscape, i.e. the ways in which people walk, photograph, pose, eat and perform in and with tourist places. Furthermore, I want to examine the ways in which corporeal movements, activities, meanings and images are performed by contemporary social actors. By doing so, I will attempt to shed

light on the fluidity of the division between subject and object. My aim is to understand the shifting interpretations and representations of landscapes shaped by different social actors in contemporary tourism through an analysis of the formation and practices of Asuke's tourist landscapes (see chapters five, six and seven).

However, when it comes to considering the process of landscape production in modern tourism, the notion of landscape as embodied practices needs to be complemented with the idea of landscape as a cultural image and text. This is because modern tourism always involves 'the production of the local and the different' (R. Robertson 1992: 173) through a series of 'cultural discourses that distinguish places in terms of particular values' (Edensor 1998: 121).

In addition, images of place help to shape people's practices and performances in sites. As Rob Shields notes, people's perception of places through place-myths may 'impact on material activities and may be clung to despite changes in the "real" nature of the site' (Shields 1991: 47). This notion suggests that places-myths are an important component in structuring tourist experiences and practices. In other words, images of destinations themselves could affect tourists' specific experiences in and with sites. For example, tourist photography or image-making activities by tourists themselves, such as writing and sending postcards or buying souvenirs depicting landscapes, are inevitably parts of tourist experiences and practices in relation to images of places.

1.2 Debating Tourism Theory

Given the conceptual framework of the idea of landscape, the examination of the formations of tourist landscape in a contemporary society also requires a careful consideration of the relationship between modern tourism practices, visual culture and the production of geographical knowledge. In the following section, I briefly overview the existing knowledge in relation to landscape on tourism studies in order

to gain useful insights for understanding contemporary tourism and identify any gaps in existing research.

Many cultural and social studies on modern tourism have been built on a theoretical foundation strongly connected with visibility. In his influential work, Dean MacCannell posits that sightseeing is a key aspect to unpack the rituals of modern tourism.

I discovered that *sightseeing is a ritual performed to the differentiations of society* (emphasis in the original). Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality, a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experiences.

(MacCannell 1976[1999]: 13)

For him, modern tourism and the act of sightseeing are intertwined. Tourist attractions are signs and conceived as ‘an empirical relationship between a *tourist*, a *sight* and a *marker* (a piece of information about a sight) (MacCannell 1976[1999]: 41). Sightseeing incorporates signs to be consumed, a stage where signs are placed and descriptions, such as travel guide books and postcards, that teach tourists how to do sightseeing within structural differentiations. According to MacCannell, modern tourists seek not for the sight itself but elements of sights that have been proposed by markers. The tourist experience is a search for lost authenticity through sightseeing and the consumption of signs by experiencing ‘staged authenticity’ (1976[1999]). However, I would like to underline that the act of sightseeing is a formative part of constituting tourist experiences through consumption of landscapes. Although the tourist is a pivotal agent in ‘*social structural differentiation*,’ (MacCannell 1976[1999]: 11), my focus in this thesis is the ways in which sightseeing as an act of experiencing tourist landscapes shapes and is shaped by a various set of performances at sites while myriads of markers regulate tourists’ enactments and corporeal movements.

John Urry has insisted on the visual dimension of modern tourism through the idea of ‘the tourist gaze’ (Urry 2002). He argues the concept of tourist gaze as socially

and culturally organised and systematised, and elaborates on how the tourist gaze is constructed and reinforced in different societies, social groups, and times. For Urry in *The Tourist Gaze*, tourism is defined as a mirror of modern society, and the exploration of tourist gazes constructions by several social groups is a useful way to understand ‘what is happening in “normal society”’ (Urry 2002: 2). The tourist gaze is constructed ‘through difference’ and ‘in relationship to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experiences and consciousness’ (Urry 2002: 1). Thus, special attention is given to the act of gazing or viewing something different from ordinary life.

In addition, tourism is viewed and decoded as a semiotic space which is filled with signs and signifiers. The tourist gaze is ‘constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs’ (Urry 2002: 3). In this sense, every tourist is a semiotician who reads the landscape as particular and unfamiliar signs. For Urry, the modern tourist is a visual reader who is searching for ‘pleasure’ and ‘fun’ through the act of seeing or gazing. Thus, for Urry, modern tourism experiences are perceived as deciphering and decoding signs that are scattered all over the world. Similarly, literary theorist Jonathan Culler states that modern tourists are ‘the agents of semiotics: all over the world they are engaged in reading cities, landscapes and cultures as sign systems’ (Culler 1988: 155). Such understandings of modern tourism and its experiences helped us realise that tourism involves the production of difference.

Furthermore, Tom Selwyn’s edited collection on tourist images depicts image-making activities in tourism/travel both by tourists/travellers themselves and by tourism industries or local inhabitants in proposed destinations (Selwyn 1996b). Selwyn states that tourism is conceived as one of the main engines that establish the relationship between centres and peripheries in a political, economic and cultural sense (1996a). He relates the expression of such a division in modern tourism to the construction and representation of the Other, cultural identity and experiences (1996a). Meanwhile, Rob Shields’ exploration of place-myths analyses the role of the images of places in tourism. According to Shields, place-myths are collections of

place-images which are stereotyped and over-simplified conceptions or images of places (Shields 1991: 61). Thus, it is essential to consider that modern tourism actively involves the creation of images of places while it creates imaginative geographies, such as 'Orient' through colonizing gestures of Orientalism (Gregory 2003).

However, a growing volume of tourism studies underlines the importance of reconsidering tourism in relation to the organisation of everyday life and its practices (Crouch 1999c, Franklin and Crang 2001, Franklin 2003, Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004, M. Crang 2006, Pons *et al.* 2009). This is in contrast to most theoretical approaches in tourism studies of the past few decades which valued the dichotomy between the everyday and the non-everyday, 'ordinariness' and 'non-ordinariness' or 'home' and 'away' (M. Crang 2006). A. Franklin suggests that:

It is argued that tourism cannot be separated from the cultural, political and economic conditions in which it has developed and changed, and critically, the book argues that tourism is no longer something that happens away from the everyday life world. Rather tourism is *infused* into the everyday and has become one of the ways in which our lives are ordered and one of the ways in which consumers orientate themselves, or take a stance to a globalised world.

(A. Franklin 2003: 2)
(Italics in original)

For example, people spend a certain amount of time to plan their summer or Christmas holidays. Talking about travel/tourist experiences and showing past travel photographs to friends or family members are ordinary practices in people's everyday life. Somehow, pieces of our everyday life are encapsulated in tourism practices and choices, and vice versa. It seems that 'tourism is also a metaphor of everyday life because it is about freedom and democracy, accessibility and choice' (Adrian Franklin 2003: 10), which potentially allows people to show their cultural skills of travelling through their tourism choices. Likewise, Orvar Löfgren denotes that looking at tourism as a social practice has the potential to explore identities, social relations and interactions with nature.

I view vacationing as a cultural laboratory where people have been able to experiment with new aspects of their identities, their social relations, or their interaction with nature and also to use the important cultural skills of daydreaming and mindtraveling. Here is an arena in which fantasy has become an important social practice.

(Löfgren 1999: 7)

While it could be true that tourism is separable from mundane life spatially and temporally, it is also important to consider the significance of tourism as a formative part of modern life.

Such understanding of tourism requires taking into consideration the notion of embodied practices that allows researchers to explore the relationship of modern tourism with 'everyday life'/ordinariness in contemporary societies. Increasing interest in the notion of tourist practices and performances has generated useful insights on how individual tourists actively engage in the production and reproduction of tourist landscapes through a wide range of performances in tourist sites. While tourist industries and many professionals, such as photographers and travel book writers, are powerful actors in the making of tourism places and landscapes, tourists too, actively inscribe their values into places and landscapes of tourism. Looking at the diversity of tourist experiences is crucial in understanding the complexity of production and reproduction of tourism places (Crouch 2004). In other words, ideas of practice and performance are relevant in exploring the popularisation of particular social and cultural values inscribed into tourist landscapes. Furthermore, they allow an examination of the creative ways undertaken by individual tourists to experiment with new ideas and meanings and develop their cultural skills/abilities through their landscape experiences. Looking at the practices of tourist landscapes, which express shifting aesthetics and meanings, enables us to comprehend the ways in which new ideas and meanings are accepted and consumed by particular individuals and/or social identities.

Last but not least, I would like to argue that western tourism theories could be problematised in view of the emerging critique of Western-centric assumptions that have shaped modern tourism theories and academic practices. Tim Winter suggests

that ‘the history of “modern tourism” has been written from a Eurocentric perspective’ (Winter 2009: 317). I also support this view and argue that it is imperative to rethink these theoretical insights as they derive solely from the history and experience of western modern tourism (Winter *et al.* 2008b). Within the field of tourism studies, there has been an increasing call to go beyond Western-centric tourism discourses in our consideration of non-western practices of travel, in particular those that have taken place in Asia (Winter 2009, Winter *et al.* 2008b). Some scholars have already turned their attention to non-western practices and industries in Asian tourism (for instance, Edensor 1998, I. M. Daniels 2001a, Gladstone 2006 and others). For instance, recent work has demonstrated that there are several analogies and differences in the practices and meanings of modern tourism between ‘West’ and ‘Non-West’ (see more details in chapter seven, Edensor discussion on Indian tourists, I. M. Daniel’s analysis of Japanese domestic tourists). The existing tourism theories have overlooked the complexities of today’s global tourism resulting in the over-generalisation of practices and experiences of the ‘Western’ modern tourism. It is important to bear in mind that practices of modern tourism within the Japanese context may generate alternative interpretations and understandings of the globalising tourism culture and its practice.

Furthermore, it should be noted that histories of landscape experiences in the Japanese context should also be approached as an individual field of analysis in order to gain a full understanding of the relationship between tourism and landscape. Undoubtedly, theoretical assumptions built upon histories of landscape in Europe are a useful tool for understanding the reproduction process of tourist landscape in contemporary society (for instance, see Arayama *et al.* 1998). However, it is also necessary to pay sufficient attention to the histories and practices of landscape appreciation in a Japanese context. By doing exactly this, the present study attempts to offer important insights into the ways landscape experiences and practices in tourist sites are shaped and reshaped.

In my thesis, I examine the cultural and social complexities of tourism practices and experiences in the development of Japanese tourism with a particular focus on the

transformation of cultural meanings of tourist landscapes. I attempt to generate an alternative viewpoint that will challenge Western ethnocentric narratives about the experiences and practices of modern tourism. By doing this, I wish to extend the existing tourism research field with the inclusion of Japanese modern tourism practices that may contain analogies and differences from the Western experiences and practices of it. In the following section, I will discuss the significance of the notions of practice and performance in relation to the process of reproducing tourist landscapes in order to explore the practice of Japanese modern tourism.

1.3 (Re) production of Tourist Landscape through Practice and Performance

1.3.1 Tourist Practices and Performances

As discussed earlier increasing attention has been paid to the discussion of ‘what tourists do and experience’ in destinations, how tourists make sense of their experiences through their travels (Crouch 2002, 2004) and how their practices and performances participate in the shaping of tourist landscapes. David Crouch defines the concept of practice and performance in modern tourism as follows:

“Practice” refers to the encounters tourists have with their surrounding material space, metaphor, and imagination and a complexity of contexts. “Performance,” as used in this chapter, concerns the tourist-in-action rather than the staged events and displays that resemble the tableaux of representations familiar in terms of brochures and televisual and filmic contexts through which places may be experienced by the tourists.

(Crouch 2004: 86)

Such understanding in relation to ‘practice’ and ‘performance’ in tourism studies foregrounds complex relations between tourists, images, places and experiences in context of modern tourism. It stresses ‘the bodily character of the ways in which individuals encounter tourism experiences, events, and spaces and their potential connections with the figuring of their own lives’ (Crouch 2004: 85). There is a number of studies that focus on the enactment of the bodily sense in the context of

tourism (Veijola and Jokinen 1994, Jokinen and Veijola 2003, Crouch 2004; 2005, Edensor 2006, Minca 2007b). Sensuous experiences through the practices of listening, walking, eating, touching and smelling are constitutive parts of the production of tourist experiences, meanings and places.

Meanwhile, tourist performances concern the diverse enactment and the conventions that are characterised by temporal, spatial and social conditions. Edensor mentions in his book on tourist performances at the Taj Mahal that 'tourist performances are shaped by the constraints and opportunities that tour structures produce and are informed beliefs about the symbolic meanings of the site, and they vary from the rigid enaction of tourist rituals and "duties" to attempt to construct and transmit alternative meanings' (Edensor 1998: 62). Tourist performances are interactive and contingent on 'various dispositions and conventions that people bring to particular contexts' (Edensor 2000: 341). Moreover, Judith Adler mentions that travel literature and popular travel narratives have historically served as a 'textbook' of travel practices and performances (1989: 1367-1368). Thus tourist performances are intimately linked with specific social and cultural discourses and practices while tourist sites are considered as stages where tourists encounter different social rules and improvise their enactments.

However, it is important to note that although all practices and performances are strongly connected to the constitution of tourist experiences, the nature of the tourist practices and performances concept is that it is 'in the articulation between what the tourists does, the industry, and wider culture, as contexts, that a clearer comprehension of tourist activity is likely to emerge' (Crouch 2004: 86). Phil Crang's discussion on the discursive construction of tourism services through the performative role of tourism employment is a representative example (P. Crang 1997). Tourism employees are part of the tourism production and become the object of tourist gaze by displaying their bodies that are trained to perform "appropriate" behaviours. While his discussion demonstrates that the performative role of tourism employees is useful in exploring how tourism consumption is constituted spatially and temporally, it also reminds us that tourist practices are constituted through the

interaction with multiple social factors. In my empirical study, I will consider the performative role of different social actors by paying close attention to their enactments through their bodies at tourist sites (see chapter six).

The practices of modern tourism generate the changing meanings and shifting interpretations of landscape representations. Historical analyses on traveller/tourist practices reveal the emergence of new mode of experiences, cultural meanings and sensibilities that involve the practices of landscape consumption and experiences in modern tourism (Löfgren 1999, Aitchison *et al.* 2000). Löfgren traces the origin of tourism to the 18th century and illustrates how the pioneer tourists' work has influenced the practices of tourist landscapes – how to look and sense the landscapes (Löfgren 1999). He also argues that the development of landscape representations, meanings and sensibilities was enhanced through the practices of searching for new sights and sensations, what is called sightseeing, by modern tourists (Löfgren 1999). He suggests that landscape experiences in modern tourism cover not only the act of looking at scenery or gazing at built environments in destinations but also the act of telling visual experiences or writing picture postcards.

In addition, Löfgren points out that 'the making of the picturesque has often been seen as the first step in developing "the tourist's gaze," but such an argument misses the fact that the picturesque above all concerns sensibility: a search for atmosphere and sceneries that opened your senses and sent your thoughts flying' (Löfgren 1999: 21). Hereby, it is worth noting that the processes of reproducing landscapes through tourism practices involve not only looking at a sight but also receiving and experiencing the new sensibilities. By producing and reproducing iconic views, tourist industries construct and deliver not only static visual representations but also sensibilities inscribed on images which can be performed by modern tourists in and with tourist places. Thus, through the process of learning how to enjoy a sight, the visual experiences of modern tourists are not merely associated with the search of new 'fun' and 'pleasure' but also with the making and experiencing 'new' sensibilities inscribed into landscapes.

My thesis considers the ways in which a variety of tourist practices of performances such as photographing, chatting, walking and eating participate in the shaping of landscape experiences. By doing so it aims to investigate tourist landscape formations and consider the diversity of visual consumption in the culture of contemporary domestic tourism in Japan.

Additionally, it is imperative to pay attention to the dynamic process of the creation of representations in tourism and social ideologies that lies behind these representations (M. Crang 1997). Using examples from popular photography, Mike Crang focuses on the popular production and re-production of pictures and argues for the need to look into the practices of seeing rather than the presence of the looking subject. He emphasises the importance of the technologies of seeing in the process of developing knowledge (M. Crang 1997). Technical developments of photography have prompted the mass use of photographic tools and expanded the role of photography – from the public to the private and domestic, such as family photography. Crang also discusses the marketing strategies that helped to ‘stabilize the possibilities when we should photograph something, and what to do for a photograph’ (M. Crang 1997: 364). Subsequently, the standardisation of the use of photography reinforced by technical developments and the marketing of photographic tools shapes not only the object and meanings of photography but also the practices, activities and performances related to photography.

1.3.2 Gazing

While the conceptualisation of the tourist gaze is dependent on visibility, gazing is a major constitutive part of the construction of modern tourism. The tourist gaze does not focus on individual motivations and impetus for travels. Rather it refers to the construction of systematised and regularised ways of seeing that vary according to social, cultural and economical conditions (Urry 2002). Tourism discourses produce sites and sights to be gazed. Gazes are organised and regulated by tourism discourses and direct to the ‘extraordinary’ objects, emphasising differences from the everyday experiences (Urry 2002). Moreover, tourism industries and institutions

assist in the shaping of images of tourist places. However, one aspect that I pay attention to is that tourism industries are also crucial actors in the construction of the materiality of tourist places. As Urry argues, tourist industries organise various tourist gazes which point to the physical appearance of the buildings' design and restoration (Urry 2002). Material designs and architectural styles are crucial in drawing tourists' attention resulting in them becoming the object of the tourist gaze (Urry 2002).

Furthermore, the conceptualisation of the tourist gaze has been extended by connecting it with the idea of practices and mobility. In the second edition of *The Tourist Gaze*, Urry claims that 'it is the gaze that orders and regulates the relationship between the various sensuous experiences while away, identifying what is visually out-of ordinary, what are the relevant differences and what is 'other' (2002: 145). He also stresses the importance of the role of mobility and argues that corporeal movements of tourist bodies underpin and facilitate sensual experiences in tourism and leisure space (Urry 2002). Thus, it can be argued that gazing practices are linked to the organisation of embodied tourist experiences through corporeal movements.

Jokinen and Veijola's work also establishes the connections between mobility, embodied visibility and the production of landscape through autobiographical narrations of their mountaineering experiences in their childhood (Jokinen and Veijola 2003). They claim that 'visibility, of all senses, is the most embodied one: what we see depends on our posture and position' (2003: 260). They regard vision as a secondary way in exploring identity formation, movement and bodily sensations being the primary one, and they show how landscape representations are constructed through the remembrance of their visual and other sensuous experiences of mountaineering. Similarly, Jonas Larsen discusses the link between the tourist gaze and embodied practices: 'I emphasise that gazing is a performance that involves corporeal enactments, technologies, physical objects as much as mental work and images. The tourist gaze is inherently *productive*: it constantly produces remarkable buildings, views, identities, photographs and places. While lavishly imaginative, it

has dense material consequences' (Larsen 2004: 42). Thus, this approach is useful in considering the formation of material and imaginative tourist landscapes that arise from complex relations among images, places, technologies and corporeality.

In my research, I concentrate on two types of tourist gaze that are central in the world of modern tourism: the romantic gaze and the collective gaze. In the second edition of *The Tourist Gaze*, John Urry referred to various types of tourist gazes, including the romantic gaze and the collective gaze, some of which have been recently discussed by other researchers¹(2002: 150). As Urry proposes, romantic gaze is the form of gazing at 'solitude, privacy and a personal semi-spiritual relationship with the objects' (Urry 2002: 43). Such an act of gazing is expected to be practiced 'privately or at least only with "significant others"' (Urry 2002: 150). Urry states that the use of the romantic gaze is central in tourism marketing and advertising in the West (2002). In my thesis I attempt to reveal how the conception of the romantic gaze is embedded in the production of tourist visual rhetoric in the context of Japanese domestic tourism (see chapters five and six).

Contrary to the romantic gaze, the notion of the collective gaze concerns conviviality (Urry 2002) and necessitates the presence of other tourists. The presence of other tourists looking and experiencing sites is a significant element in producing 'a sense of carnival or movement' (Urry 2002: 150). Edensor shows that the collective gaze performed by Indian tourists in the Taj Mahal is related to the communal witnessing with group, family or friends of a national monument (Edensor 1998). Although their gazes are directed to the renowned beauty of the Taj, the act of gazing is not performed intensively: 'the Taj is looked at briefly, along with the tacit recognition that it is a remarkable building of national significance' (Edensor 1998: 126). The collective gaze implies sociality that helps to influence tourist performances and experiences at sites.

Inspired by Haldrup and Larsen's work (Haldrup and Larsen 2003 see also,

¹ For instance, Urry has introduced the spectacle gaze, the reverential gaze, the anthropological gaze, the environmental gaze and the mediatised gaze.

Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004, Larsen 2004), I will employ the ‘family gaze’ to look at the relationship between tourist practices and landscape experiences in the context of contemporary Japanese domestic tourism. According to Hadrup and Larsen, the concept of ‘family gaze’ is defined as follows:

We introduce the ‘family gaze’ to capture how family photography is socially organized and systematized in family tourism. The ‘family gaze’ brings questions of sociality and social relations into discussions of tourist vision and photography. While Urry’s gazes are directed at extraordinary ‘material world’, the family gaze’ is concerned with the ‘extraordinary ordinariness’ of intimate ‘social worlds’.

(Haldrup and Larsen 2003: 24)

They propose that family photography is a ‘theatre of life’ where social relations are produced through family tourism (Haldrup and Larsen 2003: 24). As Wearing and Wearing explain in a discussion of the ‘feminized gaze’ which highlights the embodied involvement with tourist space, the family gaze focuses on ‘the social interaction that occurs within the tourist space or destination’ (Wearing and Wearing 1996: 230). The difference between the family gaze and the tourist gaze is that the family gaze is directed at ‘personal social relations, one’s partner, friends and family members’ (Larsen 2004: 45) whereas the tourist gaze is directed at something different from the everyday world of tourist sites. While the role of family photography has received significant attention within several academic disciplines (Sontag 1979, Bourdieu *et al.* 1990, Hirsch 1997, Osborne 2000, Chambers 2003, G. Rose 2003) the investigation of family gazing and its performances in tourist places is not developed enough.

Larsen analyses how the family gaze is performed in Danish family vacations (Larsen 2004). In the practices of family tourism, he shows that the family is transformed into both the subject and the object of the photographic eye (Larsen 2004). The family gaze visualises an idealised future family and produces future memories that are full of ‘intimacy’ and ‘tenderness’ (Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004: 96). A variety of visual and corporeal performances, such as eye contact and embracing, are

executed in the practice of the family gaze in tourist places. Multiple ways of displaying tourist bodies, such as touching, smiling and posing, constitute the practices of family gazing.

The family gaze enables us to capture the moment of ‘framing personal stories revolving around social relations’ (Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004: 102). It is a gaze which foregrounds the private sphere of individual tourist life. In this sense, the family gaze offers an opportunity to explore the connections between tourist practices and the organisation of people’s everyday life. Moreover, the concept of family gaze highlights how tourist landscapes are employed as a stage in producing tourists’ visual memories. In this sense, the role of tourists oscillates between the photographer and the photographed. My thesis examines the shifting role of the observer and the observed in the practices of tourist landscapes. I also pay close attention to the bodily performance of family gazing practices that take place in association with the act of photographing in tourist places.

1.3.3 Photographing

Gazing is actually performed with the help of photography or the use of cameras. Gazing upon something extraordinary in tourist sites prompts people, both consciously and unconsciously, to capture scenes in front of them.

Joyce Hsiu-yen Yeh considers photography as ‘a central touristic ritual, the recording and capturing of the moment of gazing (Yeh 2008: 303). Photography reflects self-consciousness and personal photography is made to capture ‘the individual or the group to which they belong *as they would wish to be seen* and as they have chosen to show themselves to one another’ (Holland 2000: 121 *Italic original*). Photography is powerful in shaping tourists’ movements and activities by indicating where to see and how to capture sights while it is also evidence of what tourists see and experience (Crawshaw and Urry 1997). As Crawshaw and Urry mention, the act of photographing is an emblematic practice which ‘involves a repertoire of actions when confronted by the “other”’, while it helps to produce

tourists' future memories through the capturing of fleeting moments of travelling (Crawshaw and Urry 1997: 183).

However, photography involves a variety of performances in and with tourist sites. In fact, as we know from our empirical knowledge, photographic experiences are performed through gazing *and* other additional performances. It is a set of performances such as finding objects to capture, holding or setting cameras, looking into lenses and focusing. Besides, photographic performances convert the act of gazing into tangible forms. The outcome of photographic performances in tourist sites is crystallised and packed into photographs or even handy digital data.

Photography plays an important role in distributing new sensibilities among modern tourists. The invention and development of the camera in the 19th century had a considerable influence on the ways of experiencing landscapes. Picture postcards actually became very powerful tourist media in the late 19th century in terms of communicating feelings and experiences through the visual with others (Löfgren 1999). With the development of photography, writing and sending postcards also became an emblematic aspect of modern practices in tourist visual experiences; at the same time, the commodification of nature and natural attractions has been promoted by 'travel capitalism' (Andrews 1989, Bell and Lyall 2002). According to Löfgren, the materiality and mobility of a picture postcard enables people to communicate their feelings with others through their visual experiences (Löfgren 1999).

By using the metaphor of 'theatre', Larsen and Haldrup state how photographic practices relate both to other actions in sites and the meaning of photography.

Tourist photography is part of the 'theatre' that enables modern people to enact and produce their desired togetherness, wholeness and intimacy. When cameras appear, activities are put on hold, and in posing people present themselves as a desired future memory; they assume tender postures: holding hands, hugging, embracing and so on. In this sense tourist photography makes proper social life possible – solid, relaxed and intimate.

(Larsen and Haldrup 2006: 19)

Through the processes of production and consumption, photography and its materiality have become important factors in the production of imaginary landscapes as intimate social world. They produce semiotic and visual images as well as photographic performance in sites. Photography is therefore useful for exploring the ways in which tourists create and reproduce ‘pleasures’ in tourism through visual images. My intention in this thesis is to clarify how photographic practices and performances are involved in the consumption of imaginary and material landscape during people’s travels.

1.3.4 Shifting Social Positions in Landscape Practices

Having considered the main debates on the reproduction of landscape through the practices of tourism, I now concentrate on the multiple and shifting positions in the formation and practices of tourist landscapes. Recent tourism studies on landscapes have revolved around three kinds of investigations on landscape in destinations. One is representations of tourist landscapes. The idea of landscape that concerns visual qualities have been paid attention increasingly (for example Aitchison *et al.* 2000, Pritchard and Morgan 2000, Terkenli 2004) while the materiality of tourist places has been also examined as ‘landscape’ that potentially attracts tourists. In addition, some work has focused on processes and practices of construction of tourist landscapes (Scarles 2004).

Thinking about the relationship between tourism and landscapes has become more important in terms of investigations of the production of tourist places and spaces (Aitchison *et al.* 2000, Cartier and Lew 2005, Minca and Oakes 2006, Minca 2007b, Knudsen *et al.* 2008). Some scholars have paid attention to the multivocality of tourist landscapes that may derive from involvement with several social actors in the practices of tourism. As Cartier states that:

Touristed landscapes, and as places, represent an array of experiences and goals acted out by diverse people in locales that are subject to tourism but which are also places of historic and integral meaning, where

“leisure/tourism” economies are also local economies, and where people are engaged in diverse aspects of daily life.

(Cartier 2005: 3)

Multiple purposes, meanings, interests and intentions elaborated by different social actors intersect in processes of tourist landscape formation. This requires then that we need to consider the relationship between tourist landscapes and ‘three sets of actors: tourists; locals; and intermediaries including government ministries, travel agents, and tourism promotion boards’ (D. Nash 1996, quoted from Knudsen *et al.*, 2008: 4). Besides, Squire suggests that ‘tourism particularly trades in different groups of image makers and analytical interpreters’ (Squire 1994: 6). In other words, tourist landscapes are ‘open to multiple interpretations – they are heterotopic’ (Knudsen *et al.* 2008: 4). For instance, people living in destinations may attempt to present their own culture and histories through landscapes while tourists/visitors may miss or misunderstand local meanings behind tourist objects and landscapes. Also travel guides may want to introduce ‘mundane life’ in sites which are not considered as tourist attractions by local residents. Even the difference of knowledge and experiences of tourists may affect their interpretations of landscapes. While the multivocality of landscape may complicate the understanding of landscape formation in tourism practices, it is necessary to consider each social actor’s role in order to understand the changing forms of the representations of landscape and its practice in modern tourism.

Moreover, another consideration related to the multivocality about tourist landscapes above is that there is the need to pay attention to the changeability or fluidity of different social actors who engage in processes of landscape reproduction. Cartier significantly signals this dynamic in relation to landscape experiences and place consumption:

Touristed landscapes are about complexity of different people doing different things, locals and visitors, sojourners and residents, locals becoming visitors, sojourners becoming residents, residents “being tourists,” travelers denying being tourists: residents part-time tourists, tourist working hard to fit in as if locals.

(Cartier 2005: 3)

This insight that foregrounds multiple and shifting positions of social identities related to landscape formation and consumption seems to indicate the nature of modern tourism, as Cartier links her statement with MacCannell's recognition that 'we are all tourists' (MacCannell 1976[1999]: 9). In this sense, perspectives of multiple and shifting positions of social identities in formation and consumption of tourist landscapes enables us to further theorisation about contemporary landscapes, its changing forms and meanings of representations, and practices in tourism, which reflects transition of social formation in the society.

Conclusion

In this chapter I set the conceptual framework for the exploration of the formation and practice of tourist landscapes in modern Japan that require the construction and reception of geographical imagination and sensibilities as part of the process. I began my discussion by re-considering the general theoretical contributions that landscape studies, particularly in cultural geography, have achieved since the 1980s. I discussed the notion of landscape as a way of seeing and I drew attention to the notion of practice not only in the construction of cultural meanings/representations through visual images but also in the investigation of the dynamics of landscape experiences/sensibilities underpinned in tourist sites by embodied practices.

In the following section the complex relationship between modern tourism practices, visual culture and the production of geographical knowledge was shown. By reviewing the existing knowledge in relation to landscape experience on modern tourism studies I argued that tourism not only produces 'difference' through the act of viewing but also reflects people's cultural skills and social relations through the embodied practices in and with places. In this context, my thesis attempts to show the importance of considering practices and performances in modern tourism through the investigation of new cultural values and meanings inscribed into tourist landscapes. Furthermore, it shows the significance of focusing on social identities/particular individuals who actively engage in the production of tourist

landscapes.

In the final section, I discussed certain modern forms of practice and performance of tourist landscapes – gazing and photographing – to explore the fluidity between different social positions mediated by landscape experiences in tourist sites. I also highlighted the importance of considering the multivocality of tourist landscapes which allows for the multiple and shifting social positions in the formation and practices of modern tourist landscapes.

This chapter has presented the key concepts underlying this thesis. The next chapter addresses the introduction and reception of the European notion of landscapes driven by social elites in the early modern period of Japan through an eclectic visual and textual rhetoric.

Chapter Two

The Discovery of Modern Natural Landscape in Japan

To have lived through the transition stage of modern Japan makes a man feel preternaturally old; for here he is in modern times, with the air full of talk about bicycle and bacilli and “spheres of influence,” and yet he can himself distinctly remember the Middle Ages.

Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*

(Chamberlain 1905: I)

Introduction

Having considered the theoretical debates on the formation and practices of modern landscape and its relationship with tourism in cultural geography and tourism studies in chapter one, this chapter focuses on the introduction and reception of the European notion of landscape through the discovery of ‘Japanese nature’. This discovery was a significant moment with regards to the popularisation of the European notion of landscapes in Japan; the new conception of ‘Japanese nature’ subsequently became one of the most predominant aesthetic values that shaped tourist landscapes in the 20th century.

In this chapter I look at the ways in which the European idea of landscape was brought to late 19th century Japan by social elites as the emergent modern looking subject. The aim of this approach is to show how the concept of landscape functioned as an ideological device that provided new values of ‘Japanese nature’ to the early modern Japanese. I also explore the ways in which the new modern

looking subject received and consumed new aesthetic values that might have derived from the West by looking at the practices of ‘modern Japanese landscape’ in the transitional period. My goal is to provide the historical context and the importance of identifiable social groups in the formation and reception of modern landscapes as an ideological device.

The formation of modern Japanese landscape is addressed in three phases: how does the discovery of a new way of seeing nature as Japanese landscape occur within the context of modern Japan? How are landscapes, as Japanese ways of seeing, constructed, and how are the receptions and practices of the landscapes performed? Specifically, the questions to be discussed are: which visual rhetoric was employed when the modern idea of landscape was introduced? How was it transmitted, reinforced, and practiced in early modern Japan? What happened when the very visual idea of landscapes was developed as the process of modernisation in a non-western country? In order to answer these questions, I focus on one book entitled *On Japanese Landscape (Nihon Fūkei ron)* published in the late 19th century Japan (Shiga 1976[1895])², written by the journalist Shigetaka Shiga.

Shiga’s masterpiece marked a turning point in the formation of the Japanese modern landscape and, in particular, natural landscapes. Drawing from the existing discussions on Shiga’s book, this chapter aims to show the visual and textual rhetoric with regards to the introduction and reception of the European notion of landscapes in the early period of modern Japan. After an introduction to the book and to the social responses to it, I analyse the rhetorical issues surrounding this book and show that there exist both discrepancy and continuity within the discovery of the Japanese natural landscape. I pay particular attention to the issues of representations of ‘whole Japan’ or Japan as a unity and Japanese nature, and the use of western discourses and aesthetic terms that derive from the conventional literary canon throughout Shiga’s text. This section demonstrates how the descriptions and

² There are several reprint editions of *On Japanese Landscape*. In this thesis, I have used text and figures from reprint editions, Vol.1 and 2, (published by Kōdansya in 1976) of the third edition of *On Japanese Landscape* (1895) whereas some of the figures (figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.5) were drawn from the older reprint edition (1959) of the first edition of *On Japanese Landscape*.

structure of the book were affected by western discourses and knowledge as well as how the existence of continuity offers the stable changeability to the Meiji Japanese in the reception of a new way of seeing Japanese nature, in particular alpine nature. Finally, I turn my attention to the practices of Japanese natural landscape which were strongly encouraged by *On Japanese Landscape*. I show that Shiga's text explicitly mobilised the emergent Meiji bourgeois to the mountains by linking alpine practices with a new gaze and sensibility. I also argue that the establishment of the Japanese Alpine Club and its practices involves a sense of sublime that Shiga (1973[1895]) described.

2.1 Traditions of landscape experiences and representations in Japan

This section provides a detailed discussion of pre-modern 'traditional' Japanese approaches to landscape focusing on travelling practices and landscape aesthetics. The aim is to use this information as the background for discussing the transformation of the cultural meanings of the notion of modern Japanese landscapes.

The cultural production of landscape in Japan is strongly connected to traditional literary practices and wordplays. The history of landscapes perception, and the representation of places in general, in Japan dates back to the Heian period (794-1192) (Berque 1990). French cultural geographer Augustin Berque notes that the Japanese ways of representing nature were affected by Chinese aesthetic conceptions/schemes to represent nature. This resulted in the development of the Japanese landscape representations through the composition of poems formerly practiced by only a small elite circle (Berque 1990). As Paul Waley notes: 'Text, principally in the form of poetry, served as a code for interpreting the Japanese landscape' (Waley 1996: 5). Thus, it can be argued that the development of landscape representation/depiction in Japan went hand in hand with the literary practices.

In addition, traditions of landscape depiction as a literary practice in Japan cannot be understood without taking into account the concept of *meisho*. *Meisho* as well as *utamakura* (set poetic phrase or poetic pillows) mean famous spots or sites associated with famous and familiar poetry and references. *Meisho* is a conventional representation of places, one of the modes of perception of places in pre-modern Japan. The term *meisho* was originally called ‘*nadokoro*’, a name that is related to a place of fame and has existed as a poetic device until the mid-medieval period of Japan. *Meisho* itself was consolidated through the poetic practices by the Emperor and the ruling class up to medieval times. It is a place one could visit both physically and mentally. *Meisho* as a poetic image is dependent upon literary practices and the creation of poems at/about famous places; a person could compose a poem related to a famous place even if she/he heard about it before as *utamakura*, a term which evokes certain images of places.

The term *utamakura* originally referred to compendiums of poetic lore that served as handbooks for poets. By the late 9th century place names had come to be linked with certain standard images and feelings. Poets could enrich their poems by drawing on these conventional associations while demonstrating their originality by creating subtle changes. Although *utamakura* refers to actual places and toponyms, it also refers to conceptual spaces constructed through the layers of literary allusions. In other words, it is a geographical concept which evokes human feelings, emotions and activities in its written as well as visual forms.

It is necessary to point out that there is a synergy between literary practices in the production of *meisho* and travelling practices. Japanese cultural anthropologist Shūzō Ishimori states that the history of travelling for pleasure in Japan dates back to the ancient age (604 to 905). He shows this by drawing an example from the 7th century and particularly the Empress Jitō’s frequent trips to Yoshino, where her resort palace was located (Ishimori 1989). Similarly, Jilly Traganou notes that in the ancient age (604 to 905) only the Emperor and the ruling class had the opportunity to travel to famous places located outside the capital (Traganou 2004). Such famous places were regarded as locations for ‘the “royal progress,” where the public rite of

“behold (ing) the country” (*kunimi*) was performed’ (Traganou 2004: 69). The Emperor and his courtiers would compose a poem to justify and celebrate the authority of the Emperor on his land (Abe 1995). By composing poems at famous places and praising the locations with splendid words, the power of the Emperor was enforced and reaffirmed (Abe 1995). In this sense, the act of composing poems at visited places linked the Emperor with those famous places. Subsequently, *meisho* as a rhetorical device played an important role in signifying the relationship between the Emperor and his land (Traganou 2004). Thus it is clear that travelling outside the capital played an important role in the cultural construction of *meisho* through the act of composing poems. At the same time, landscape depiction or cultural construction of *meisho* in the Japanese context is strongly connected to the production and transformation of symbolic power.

In addition to the ruling class, in the Kamakura period (1192-1333), another type of traveller emerged, i.e. the hermits or recluses, although trips for pleasure by commoners were still rare. According to Traganou, hermits or recluses travelled for the purpose of ‘forgetting their past and severing their ties with the mundane world’ while their literary practices contributed to the *waka* (classical Japanese verse) poetry with the composition of poems celebrating the visited *meisho* (Traganou 2004: 69). During the Muromachi period (1333-1568), travels for pleasure became popular among farmers, especially wealthy ones of the Kinki district³.

The Edo period (1603-1864) saw a significant shift in *meisho* as travelling became more popular among common people. Research on tourism and the travelling practices of the Edo period revealed a considerable shift of the *meisho* concept during this time: ‘from a conceptual to a perceptual notion’ (Traganou 2004: 71). During this phase, the improvement of the highway networks, such as the Tōkaidō Highway which linked Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto, and other travel related facilities (for example, accommodation along roads) enabled commoners to travel long distances easily (Ishimori 1989). Ishimori points out that the economic development of the time contributed to the popularisation and commercialisation of travelling.

³ The Kinki district covers present Kyoto, Osaka, and the Mie, Shiga, Hyōgo and Nara prefectures.

This was particularly true for the merchants as it provided them with sufficient economic power to travel such long distances (Ishimori 1989).

Moreover, an important shift in the concept of *meisho* took place during the Edo period. Specifically, a number of *meisho* related books were published at this time, such as *Edo Meisho Ki* (*Guide to the Famous Places of Edo*, published in 1662), *Edo Suzume* (*The Sparrows of Edo*, published in 1677), and *Edo Banashi* (*Stories of Edo*, published in 1687)⁴. They are said to offer ‘a mere enumeration, instead of a precise description of the “famous places”’ (Traganou 2004: 71). Drawing from the three *meisho* books above, Ishimori explains that the concept of *meisho* became a ‘visual, actual tourist destination’ during the Edo period (1995: 13). According to Ishimori, at this time the scenic qualities of *meisho* places as famous places rather than the poetic literary association with places became more important. New toponyms were added to the *Edo Meisho Ki* (Ishimori 1995) and the place names both in the *Edo Suzume* and *Edo Banashi* included new scenic and historic beauty found in old poems. He also notes that ‘more care was taken to provide explicit directions to these sites than to explain the historical background’ (Ishimori 1995). Furthermore, he mentions that locations known for their natural beauty were highly valued as famous places while one of the origins of famous places in the Edo period was found in old poems. In *Murasaki no Hitomoto* (*A Sprig of Purple*)⁵, published in 1683) specific natural attractions and their related seasonality were valued as famous places.

According to Fiévé, the major category of famous places in Shūgaisiyō⁶ is characterised by the historical significance of the place (Fiévé 2003:158). The value of a place as a famous location relies on the historic meanings imposed on it. The selection of famous places was made by members of the fallen aristocracy who tried to resist the fading power of the ruling classes. At the same time the physical

⁴ The English titles of the three books were quoted from Traganou (Traganou 2004).

⁵ This is said to be the first topography book in the Edo period. The English title of the book is provided by Elisonas (Elisonas 1994).

⁶ This is a kind of ‘encyclopaedia in which eighty famous places in the capital are listed with one or two line commentaries’ (Fiévé 2003).

absence of original buildings and monuments characterises this category of famous places (Fiévé 2003:158).

The travelling practices of the Edo period pilgrimage need to be addressed here with regards to the relationship between pre-modern travelling practices and contemporary tourism i.e. the notion of the day-trip tourism. By employing the example of Mukōjima in Edo (current Tokyo), Waley has discussed the relationship between day trips to the outskirts of Japanese cities with a sense of pilgrimage and the varying landscapes on the periphery of Japan's pre-modern cities (Waley 1996). Traveling practices of 'day-trips' to holy spots such as shrines and temples on the outskirts of Edo played an important role in the production of cultural landscapes in Edo. Subsequently it transformed 'the act of a recreational visit' to holy spots into 'the ritual of a pilgrimage' (Waley 1996: 3).

Another element that we need to emphasise here is a strong similarity between traveling practices as religious pilgrimage between Edo-period and the practices of contemporary Japanese tourism. Susanne Formanek in her discussion of pilgrimage in the Edo period has pointed out that one of the strongest analogies between Edo-period pilgrimage and modern-day tourism is their recreational character (Formanek 1998: 185). In other words, pleasure trip replaced pilgrimages or travels for worship such as visiting holy spots, shrines and temples (Ishimori 1989: 183, Formanek 1998: 168). An additional aspect is that the increasing interests in seasonal festivals among the middle classes, such as merchants and military officers, can be considered as a strong influence for the construction of places of recreation and pilgrimage on periphery of Edo (Waley 1996). Their mobility seems to have prompted the development of cultural landscapes in Edo, inscribed with ritual meanings and appreciation of seasonality.

It should be noted that the appreciation of the changing seasons has been central to the representation of landscape in Japan. It is, thus, essential to understand the historical roots and changes of attitudes towards the appreciation of the changing seasons of landscape in order to explore the production and consumption of natural

imagery in contemporary Japan. The perception of nature in Japan is often linked to natural phenomena in the form of metaphors. Sonja Arntzen examines the traditional Japanese perception of nature within classical poetry (Arntzen 1997). Arntzen denotes that ‘the human access to an immanent nature is through sensory experience which may be then translated into metaphor’ (Arntzen 1997: 54). In other words, the sensibility described in poetry acts as a vehicle to connect human beings and nature. Although Arntzen’s study focuses on the traditional Japanese perception of nature in classical poetry, it can be argued that such a way of perceiving nature is strongly linked to sensory experiences described through metaphorical meanings in poetry. Seasonality inscribed into landscape can be an expression of feelings, emotions and sensibilities.

Sepp Linhart argues that the cult of the seasons is a useful element in the analysis of Japanese leisure activities (Linhart 1998). It involves viewing nature activities, such as the cherry/plum blossoms viewing in spring and moon viewing in autumn, which have a long history as cultural activities in Japan (see Ohnuki-Tierney 1998 for cherry blossom viewing). The ways of interacting with nature reflect a unique aspect of the Japanese leisure activities, namely the obsession with seasons and especially nature viewing. By applying Caillois’ four categories of play to classify the Japanese plays/pleasures Mitsukuni Yoshida, a Japanese historian, proposes an additional one: ‘ritualised and formalized “cult of seasons”’ that is to ‘savour and celebrate the sensations aroused by various natural and seasonal phenomena’ (Yoshida 1987: 19). Examples of such activities include the tea ceremony, flower arranging, listening to singing insects and moon viewing. He also argues for a strong link between nature and sensibility that prevailed until the mid-19th century among the Japanese, by describing each season and its relationship with emotions. For instance, it was said that fireflies glimmering in the marshes along the riverbank in the summer provide solace to the lonely and viewing snow is one of the winter’s pleasures, which is associated with a pensive disposition or a poetic frame of mind (Yoshida 1987).

In addition, Ohnuki-Tierney discusses the relationship between the symbolism of cherry blossoms and their viewing that takes place in spring. Through her historical

analysis, she considers cherry blossoms as a metaphor representing a particular social group, and discusses the complexities in the diffusion of cherry blossoms viewing and its meanings in the social stratification. She indicates that cherry blossom viewing can be understood as a powerful tool for the investigation of the multiple dimensions of Japanese culture (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 233). Subsequently, nature viewing activities, forming an integral part of Japanese leisure activities from the Edo period to date, mirror a certain way of performing cultural practices in relation to landscape appreciation.

Another crucial point that I want to make with regards to the ‘traditional’ Japanese approaches to landscape is the obsession with the aesthetics of dark, light and shadow. The beauty of shadow that darkness and light create is one of the most important parameters in understanding landscape appreciation in Japan. The aesthetics of shadow can be linked to the concept of *yūgen* developed by Nō performer Motokiyo Zeami (1364-1444). According to Tsubaki (1971) the concept of *yūgen* was well established by the middle age of Japan by Zeami although the earliest usage of the concept in Japan can be traced back to a Buddhist literature work of the 8th century (Tsubaki 1971). The original Chinese meaning of the term *yūgen* is ‘to be so mysteriously faint and profound as to be beyond human perception and understanding’ (Tsubaki 1971: 58). Tsubaki also notes that ‘both terms *yū* and *gen* were originally related to the art of dyeing, meaning black color’ (Tsubaki 1971: 58). However, once it was imported to Japan, it came to refer to ‘darkness’ and ‘profoundness’.

The significant contribution of *In Praise of Shadows* (1933[1975]), written by Japanese novelist Junichirō Tanizaki (1886-1965), to the popularization of this aesthetic concept in Japanese culture needs to be pointed out. Tanizaki stresses the aesthetic of darkness as the traditional beauty of Japan by discussing tableware, foods, architecture and Japanese arts such as Nō and Kabuki in his essay. For instance, Tanizaki highlights the role of darkness in beautifying lacquer:

Darkness is an indispensable element in the beauty of lacquerware...Sometimes a superb piece of black lacquerware, decorated

perhaps with flecks of silver and gold – a box or a desk or a set of shelves – will seem to me unsettlingly garish and altogether vulgar. But render pitch black the void in which they stand, and light them not with the rays of the sun or electricity but rather a single lantern or candle: suddenly those garish objects turn somber, refined, and dignified. Artisans of old, when they finished their works in lacquer and decorated them in sparking patterns, must surely have had in mind dark rooms and sought to turn to good effect what feeble light there was.

(Tanizaki, translated by Harper and Seidensticker 1977: 13)

Such aesthetics of darkness have influenced the practice and representations of tourist landscapes in contemporary Japan. Japanese critic Junzō Kāraki states that ‘the content and the feeling suggested by the term *yūgen* is still alive in our life today’ (cited from Tsubaki 1971: 56). Although his statement was produced in Japan of the 1960s, the case study of Asuke serves to show how the pre-modern ‘traditional’ aesthetics of darkness have strong influence on the practices of tourist landscape reproduction in contemporary Japan (see chapter six).

2.2 Discovering Modern Japanese Landscapes

Before embarking on an examination of the visual rhetoric of *On Japanese Landscape*, it should be noted that in the discussion of the discovery of modern Japanese landscape, in order to fully understand the differences and parallels between Japan and most western countries, it is essential to take into account the historical, cultural and social contexts of the period. In this section, I sketch out the background of early modern Japan and highlight the tension which revolves around the idea of Japanese modern landscape. By addressing the existing discussions on modern landscapes by Japanese scholars, I attempt to expose the complexity behind the discovery of ‘Japanese landscape’ and its relations with the emergent subjectivity as a strong power to construct modern landscapes and popularise ideologies inscribed into them.

After more than two centuries of political isolation, Japan opened itself to international relations in 1854, following the agreement of the trade treaty with

America. This event can be considered the benchmark from where the history of modern Japan begins (Thomas 1996: 3) although the cultural and economic transition from the pre-modern era, in particular the Edo period (1603-1868) to the early stage of the modern era (the Meiji period; 1868-1912), is said to have been gradual because of a partial international trading with the Dutch during the Edo period (Thomas 1996).

The Meiji period is a time when a number of western intellectual discourses were introduced to Japan. Many political leaders of the time looked to western knowledge with regards to organising political institutions, creating economic wealth, and fostering social harmony while other Japanese outside government were keen to acquire the political vitality, military power, and astonishing science and technology of the West (McClain 2002). With the sheer scale of cultural impact on Japanese traditions, western cultures, discourses and practices flowed into Meiji Japan. In addition, a dynamic change of aesthetic schemes among the Meiji Japanese is attributed to the massive affluence of western discourses. The imported aesthetic schemas altered Japanese conventional aesthetic perceptions that had been developed among the *intelligencia* or elites in the pre-modern period. As a result, the elite group in early modern Japan became familiar with western ways of seeing nature (Berque 1990: 64).

Extensive research on modernisation in Meiji Japan emphasised the tremendous political, social, economic, institutional, technological, industrial and cultural changes for all Japanese. While most studies of the Meiji period have paid much attention to the radical change of the social system, some of them also focused on the continuities in both the political, economic and social spheres, as well as everyday life (Hanley 1997, Sakai 2005). For instance, Hanley argues that continuities can be found in the material elements of everyday life such as clothing, housing and food of the Meiji period. While she points out the difficulties of seeing substantial change in Meiji people's life and its material culture, Hanley suggests the importance of continuity in terms of exploring how the transition worked in Meiji Japan. This is because 'continuity in the daily life of Japan provided a stable base

that enabled the Japanese people to deal with the political, economic, and cultural change that confronted them' (Hanley 1997: 175). She concludes that the stability within the transitional period might help uncover 'why Japanese were able to modernize and industrialize effectively when so many other countries were not' (Hanley 1997: 175). In this chapter I will focus on the oscillations between continuity and discontinuity that took place during the discovery and practices of Japanese nature in the transitional period of Japan.

It is widely accepted that the notion of 'landscape' underwent a significant change in its meaning during the Meiji period (Kimata 1988, Arayama 1989; 2004, Berque 1990, Karatani 1993, Katō 2000, Sugihara 2002, Sato 2004). Several scholars from different disciplines have remarked on the emergence of modern Japanese landscapes in the early modern period of Japan. One of the canonical arguments of the discovery of modern landscape in Meiji Japan is Kōjin Karatani's discussion on the origin of the idea of modern Japanese landscape, or 'the discovery of landscape' (Karatani 1993). In his book, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, Karatani successfully established the connection between the discovery of landscape in the literary trend of realism that occurred in the 1890s in Japan and the construction of the modern subject. Through the analysis of modern Japanese literature, Karatani discussed the existence of two different types of landscapes that existed during the Meiji period:

I would like to propose that the notion of "landscape" developed in Japan sometime during the third decade of the Meiji period. Of course, there were landscapes long before they were "discovered." But "landscape" as such did not exist prior to the 1890s, and it is only when we think about it in this way that the layers of meaning entailed in the notion of "discovery of landscape" become apparent.

(Karatani, translated by Bary 1993: 19)

What Karatani mentions here is the modern construction of 'landscape' which occurred in the early modern period of Japan. He points out that there existed two different 'landscapes' at the time. In other words, since the European idea of landscape prevailed among the Japanese, there have been two parallel ways of seeing nature in Japan. He then goes on to point out the existence of tension between

the two parallel ways of seeing: the conventional and the modern. Drawing from the shift in writing practices in the travel literature after the late Edo period stated by Japan's first ethnologist, Kunio Yanagita (1875-1962), Karatani argues that the change that Yanagita pointed out or the difference between the two types of travel literature is exactly what Karatani called 'the discovery of landscape'. The following is Yanagita's statement which Karatani quoted in his book:

[T]he first consists of a string of poems and lyrical essay; the second consists exclusively of description, narrated by a traveller who is simply a discreet presence hidden in the shadows of the actual scene....[T]he former predominate. This is the reason why books describing scenery which have begun to appear in recent years have so often been dismissed, and scorned as vulgar, by connoisseurs of literature, and why the efforts of those who wish to bequeath such documents to posterity have been viewed as the products of futile toil.

(in Karatani, translated by Bary 1993: 52).

Karatani suggests that: 'we find Yanagita narrating the "discovery of landscape" in terms of a change in the way *kikōbun* [travel literature] were actually written. Let me suggest that this transformation consisted of the liberation of travel literature from the literary, from the convention of what Yanagita describes as "a string of poems and lyrical essays"' (Karatani 1993: 52). Thus, by drawing from Yanagita's descriptions, Karatani stressed the tension behind the 'discovery of Japanese landscape' in early modern Japan. At the same time Yanagita's statement above reveals that there existed certain ways of seeing nature as a cultural expression in Japan before the modern idea of landscapes had prevailed among commoners.

According to Karatani, the tension that lay between the two different ways of seeing must be understood as an 'inversion of consciousness' which resulted in the discovery of modern landscape; as soon as the new modern landscape was institutionalised, the conventional landscapes were erased. Subsequently, 'landscape' or a certain type of way of seeing nature/environment was alive before the European landscape idea was imported to Japan and the people of the time did not need to use an explicit concept called 'landscape'. As Karatani states: 'in the very moment when we become capable of perceiving landscape, it appears to us as

if it had been there, outside of us, from the start. People begin to reproduce this landscape' (1993: 29). Once the European idea of seeing was established in the early modern Japan, its origins were repressed or forgotten.

Karatani's focus is on how the 'discovery of landscape' occurred in the literary practices in the Meiji period. By focusing on Kunikida Doppo⁷'s works of 'realistic description' – *Musashi Plain* (*Musashino*, 1898) and *Unforgettable People* (*Wasureenu hitobito*, 1898), both published four years after Shiga's seminal work, Karatani's attention is placed on the construction of the interiority of the modern subject, rather than the representations of modern Japanese landscapes. Although Karatani does not mention *On Japanese Landscape* in his book, his discussion implies that the reception of the European idea of landscape had taken place in the early modern period of Japan, which paralleled the emergence of the modern subject.

The Japanese literary critic, Norihiro Katō, investigates the notion of the discovery of modern Japanese landscape proposed by Karatani. While Karatani pays attention to the relationship between the modern Japanese landscapes and the interiority of the modern subject, Katō emphasises the importance of looking at the changing representations of Japanese landscapes (Katō 2000). By tracing Karatani's discussion on the discovery of landscape, Katō suggests the emergence of a new way of seeing that involves a transgression from conventional landscape representations. Similarly, the Japanese literary critic, Satoshi Kimata, argues that Karatani's discussion is problematic because it lacks the awareness that landscape itself is a representation (Kimata 1988: 78). Rather he insists that 'we choose "landscape," so that our task is to narrate the process of historical change of landscape as a representation' (Kimata 1988: 78). I agree with the view that Kimata proposes. Since the representation of space is 'the site for the construction and depiction of social difference' (G. Fyfe and Law 1988), it is also important to pay attention to the changing form of landscapes as representations that reflect social change in modern world.

⁷ Poet and novelist (1871-1908). He developed a realistic style that influenced the development of naturalism in Japan.

In addition, for Katō, thinking about the formation of landscapes is not merely to touch upon the creation of the viewing subject but also to investigate the ongoing process of acquiring multiple ways of seeing (Katō 2000). His focus is on landscapes as changing representations that reflect the popularisation of the ways of seeing. He further argues that landscape involves a process of decontextualising conventional values or consciousness and representations as well as neutralising them in front of the spectator (Katō 2000). By paying attention to the representation itself, the reproduction of landscapes can be understood as a changing process of coding and decoding spaces that takes place from the past to present. This aspect is particularly important because it enables us to look at how landscapes are produced and reproduced socially and culturally. While Karatani's emphasis is placed on the break or discontinuity from the past which makes 'the discovery of landscape' happen, Katō focuses on landscape as a representation that gives people the opportunity to view multiple landscapes which parallel the creation of new subjectivities.

Katō's proposition allows us to highlight the multiple ways of seeing nature and its narratives which have prevailed among modern Japanese. By looking at the changing forms and meanings of landscapes in the transitional period of Japan, we are able to understand the nature and meanings of Japanese modern landscapes and practices. As I have mentioned earlier, there are continuities as well as discontinuities between the pre-modern and modern period of Japan. At the same time, there is a tension between the pre-modern and modern landscape idea in Japan. Karatani asserts that landscape discovery in the Meiji period of Japan was an influential moment in the emergence and creation of the division between subject and object through the analysis of Japanese Meiji literature. Significantly, according to Karatani, the modern idea of landscape was new for the Meiji Japanese because conventional landscape paintings in Japan did not have a concept of landscape due to the lack of techniques for creating depth and perspective (Karatani 1993)⁸. Novel

⁸ Of course, this notion can be questioned in terms of historical senses. According to Ōmuro, by the time of early 19th century, skills of drawing pictures in perspectives had been imported to Japan through partial trading with Dutch (Ōmuro 2003).

concepts and ideas may turn out to be oscillations within the existing and stable structure in a longer historical perspective. By looking at the processes of introduction and reception of the European idea of landscapes in the transitional period of modern Japan, this chapter attempts to reflect on the first step in the formation and the practices of modern Japanese landscapes driven by identifiable individuals and their representations. The fact that *On Japanese Landscape*, published in the modern period, employed a number of illustrations as well as several scientific maps allows us to investigate the modern process of inscribing ideologies through visual geographical knowledge and its practices.

2.3 Shigetaka Shiga and *On Japanese Landscape*

In this section, I focus on the introduction of ways of seeing Japanese natural landscapes undertaken by the emergent social elite in Meiji Japan. It is now accepted that the discovery of alpine landscapes or the beautification of alpine nature which occurred in the Meiji period was an explicit and significant event in the history of the making of modern Japanese landscapes. Many scholars have pointed out that the idea of landscape as a modern concept in Japan was ‘discovered’ in the Meiji period and consolidated through various practices centred on the literati of the time (Berque 1990, Karatani 1993, Katō 2000).

On Japanese Landscape is said to have been the most influential book in terms of the popularisation of a new way of seeing Japanese nature, in particular Japanese mountain landscapes. It was greatly indebted to western discourses, and it is generally accepted as a classic icon related to several issues such as: the formation of national identity (Berque 1990, Okada 1997) during Japan’s imperial expansion abroad in the early 20th century, the proliferation of mountaineering practices (Arayama 1989) and the quest for geographical enlightenment in early modern Japan (Wigen 2005). It is regarded as a pioneering work on the conservation of the natural environment (Gavin 2001) and a celebrated work which brought a new thinking about landscape to the Japanese (Berque, 1990, Kato 2000).

Shiga's masterpiece can be considered as the first book that shed light on the modern idea of landscape that was imported from the West (Arayama 1989; 2004, Karatani 1993, Okada 1997, Katō 2000, Gavin 2001). Shiga's *On Japanese Landscape* was 'a rational geographic treatise and travelogue in the western style that suggested a new way of viewing the Japanese landscape' (Gavin 2001: 27). Besides, his masterpiece is said to be the first book in Japan that has the term 'landscape' in its title (Katsuura 1979: 89). *On Japanese Landscape* is therefore a useful tool with which to examine how the European idea of landscape was introduced, transmitted and developed by the Japanese in the modern period. I approach this issue by answering the following questions: what happened when Shiga introduced new modern ways of seeing nature to the Meiji Japanese? How did it affect awareness of the varied nature of landscape? How did the introduction of the modern idea of landscape form a new sort of looking subject? How is the introduction of new ways of seeing attributed to mobility or travelling practices of the Meiji Japanese? In order to answer these questions, I begin by introducing Shiga's profile and impetus for publishing the book and I continue with a presentation of the social responses to the book in order to show how it was received by the Meiji Japanese.

Shigetaka Shiga (1863-1927) is generally known as a modern geographer and nationalistic journalist who advocated the spirit of alpinism and mountaineering in mid-Meiji Japan. He was born into a Samurai family from the Okazaki domain in Mikawa Province (currentl Aichi Prefecture) in 1863. Shiga published the first edition of *On Japanese Landscape*, which became one of the bestsellers during the Meiji period, in October 1894. The first edition was sold out within a month, and fourteen additional editions had appeared by 1903⁹. The first twenty-two pages draft of the book was published in the journal *Asia (Azia)* in 1893 from the Seikyō-sha (Society for Political Education) that Shiga founded with his contemporaries.

⁹ Each edition was published in December 1894, March 1895, May 1895, July 1895, June 1896, November 1896, May 1897, March 1898, August 1899, August 1900, December 1900, July 1901, April 1902 and June 1903.

Shiga was sent to Kōgyoku-sha, a private academy founded by a Dutch speaking scholar Makoto Kondō (1831-86) at the age of eleven. The academy educated students for the military and merchant navy. Its curriculum emphasised mathematics, English, Japanese history and Chinese studies. Shiga seemed to have acquired much knowledge of Japanese and Chinese literature and art during this period, which became a foundation for his later works and thoughts as a nationalist (Ōmuro 2003: 24). After he left the academy in 1878, Shiga entered the Sapporo Agricultural College in 1884 where he mostly received western education associated with natural sciences. It is not difficult to infer that his knowledge on modern geography was acquired at Sapporo in Hokkaido (Ōmuro 2003). However, as his later published diary on the acquired knowledge at Kōgyoku-sya mentions, Shiga indulged in reading Japanese and Chinese literature during his college days (Ōmuro 2003). While he received western education in English¹⁰ his enthusiasm for Japanese and Chinese literature remained strong. Shiga is also considered as the key figure who introduced modern geography to Meiji Japan¹¹ and, according to the Japanese historical geographer Minoru Senda, Shiga's *On Japanese Landscape* and other two books (*Current affairs in the South (Nanyō jiji)*; published in 1877 and *Lectures on Current Geography (Chirigaku Kougi)*; published in 1889) played a crucial role in the popularisation of modern geography in the early modern period of Japan (Senda 1987, Anzai 2007). Thus, having acquired both western and Chinese-Japanese knowledge during his younger days, the combination of the variable education has affected his later work as a nationalistic journalist.

Shiga was 24 years old when he published his first book titled *Current affairs in the South*. This successful first publication was written after he joined a ten-month tour at his own expense in Southeast Asia and Oceania participating in a geographic and botanical survey. As Hiroo Mita points out, the experiences of travelling in the South influenced Shiga's next work, *On Japanese Landscape* (Mita 1973: 57). Shiga witnessed 'how island people across the South Pacific – from Australia and New

¹⁰ All coursework, discussions, and examinations in the Sapporo Agricultural College were carried out in English (Ōmuro 2003: 217).

¹¹ In addition to Shiga, his senior friend at the Sapporo Agricultural College, Kanzō Uchimura is also a pioneer in modern geography of early modern Japan.

Zealand to Fiji, Samoa, and Hawaii – were losing their resources to industrious, well-organised Anglo-Saxon colonists’ (Wigen 2005: 11). This experience showed Shiga the force of Western imperialism and Japan’s vulnerability (Okada 1997: 93). After the journey, Shiga’s attention turned to domestic geography, fostering a sense of national pride by praising Japanese nature (Wigen 2005).

In addition to the number of additional printings, the amount of published reviews on the specific book shows the popularity of *On Japanese Landscape*¹². Forty-eight book reviews were published one month after the book was published (Ōmuro 2003: 20). The Japanese historical anthropologist, Mikio Ōmuro analyses and summarises how the people of the time read and evaluated Shiga’s masterpiece¹³. Under the effect of patriotic fervour over the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), many of the book reviews touched upon the enforcement of national identity; another topic regarded a synthesis of science and aesthetics through descriptions of nature¹⁴ while a small number of reviews referred to alpinism and the conservation of the natural environment. Interestingly, some of the reviews focused on the illustrations of the book, pictures that attempted a realistic delineation of nature. As Ōmuro indicates, they were welcomed by readers of the time (Ōmuro 2003), and in fact, the illustrations of the book were celebrated by eight book reviews. In the beginning of the 19th century, some Japanese painters were already familiar with the art of Western realistic painters, particularly the Dutch (Ōmuro 2003). Almost a century later, paintings of picturesque views in the book entertained the Meiji public’s eyes while Shiga himself was willing to introduce the two Japanese painters who drew the illustrations.

¹² It is thought that book reviewers in those days were newspaper journalists, and most of them were from Samurai or old families from the Edo-period. Some of them acquired both western and Chinese education (Ōmuro 2003).

¹³ According to his analysis, each review contains multiple topics, and major motifs are divided into four categories; 1) nation and politics, 2) society and ethics, 3) science and literature or art, 4) popular culture (Ōmuro 2003). Then, each motif is split into subtopics and as a result, sixteen subtopics are listed.

¹⁴ According to Ōmuro, the most frequent topic that the reviews mentioned was relating to the synthesis of science knowledge and aesthetics (19 reviews in 48), followed by nationalism subtopic (16 in 48) (Ōmuro 2003: 20-21).

2.4 The Visual and Textual Rhetoric of *On Japanese Landscape*

As with *Current affairs in the South*, *On Japanese Landscape* is written in Chinese-style classical prose¹⁵, and it contains geophysical descriptions, scientific maps of Japan, a number of illustrations drawn by several painters, and a large number of citations of Chinese and Japanese poems. The book begins with the introduction of three aesthetic concepts¹⁶ that categorise Japanese nature, followed by a description of the physical characteristics of the Japanese archipelago.

In addition to the text-like description of mountains, vapour, and ravines, Shiga attempted to provide the Meiji Japanese with a unitary picture of the Japanese archipelago based on scientific data with information on annual rainfall, weather and geology. For instance, in the early part of the book, three scientific maps are introduced; a meteorological map, a volcano distribution and geological map, and rainfall distribution map (see figures 2.1 and 2.2). Figure 2.1 illustrates the Japanese climate and figure 2.2 the mist in Japan.

Addressing the scientific maps in Shiga's book, Katō argued that scientific narratives and the visual representations of the Japanese archipelago allowed the Meiji Japanese to recognize their country as different from the one of the pre-modern period (Katō 2000). He suggests that the new image of 'the whole of Japan' with scientific descriptions and data gave the reader a sense of neutralising the meaning of the traditional Japanese nature and its representations (2000). New Images of 'the whole of Japan' represented as a unity transcended historical and local meanings of places and regions. 'The whole of Japan' was divided by scientific indices and neutralised. Thus, it can be argued that the Meiji readers of the book

¹⁵ Keene indicates that 'many writers of the early Meiji Period continued the scholarly tradition of writing poetry and prose in Chinese. The growth of interest in the West tended increasingly to lessen the popularity of classical Chinese studies' (Keene 1957: 53) However, Chinese-style writing was being replaced by the colloquial (Japanese)-style around the 1890s. In this sense, Shiga's work can be considered as one of the last writings written in Chinese-style in that transitional period, and for Shiga, Chinese-style writing was still 'contemporary literature' in those days (Ōmuro 2003).

¹⁶ The first printing did not include the introduction of the aesthetic terms. It is believed that the additional statement of the three terms was a response to Kanzō Uchimura's criticism that points out the lack of description of sublime qualities, or 'beauty of nature that sends people's spirit soaring' (Inose 1986: 513).

faced an explicit difference of their country image through the scientific maps.

Richard Okada points out that *On Japanese Landscape* is linked to a shift in ‘the representation of space from earlier formulations that depended on received literary and aesthetic codes, or attributions of religious values, to one that regarded physical space as readily accessible to everyman’ (Okada 1997: 94). Shiga’s text helped re-value ‘the physical space of the country with its ostensibly scientifically descriptive and technical discussions (erroneous on occasion) of natural phenomena’ (Okada 1997: 94). In other words, scientific knowledge and the trend of ‘realist’ description in the Meiji period inscribed into the texts of *On Japanese Landscape* assisted the introduction of new ways of seeing Japanese spaces. My focus here is the ways the illustrations attached in the book helped the transformation of ways of seeing Japanese spaces.

In addition, the new representations of space introduced the act of looking down at ‘the whole of Japan’ to the Meiji Japanese. According to Katō, for the Meiji Japanese, it was quite rare to have opportunities to gaze down virtually at their own country (Katō 2000). Through the practice of reading *On Japanese Landscape*, they ‘looked down’ at their country from a virtual higher position. This was a new experience for the Meiji reader. The unitary image of Japan supported by scientific data allowed the Meiji public to have this new experience. Through such experiences, the Meiji Japanese became familiar with new images of their own country neutralised by scientific descriptions. Although Chinese poems were inserted in places within the book, it is clear that the book, especially the highly visible maps, provided the Meiji Japanese with a new ‘national’ imagined country/state with the support of visual representations (Arayama 2004). Thus, concomitant with new experiences of ‘looking down at Japan’ a new manner of seeing Japan driven by scientific knowledge was introduced to the Meiji Japanese.

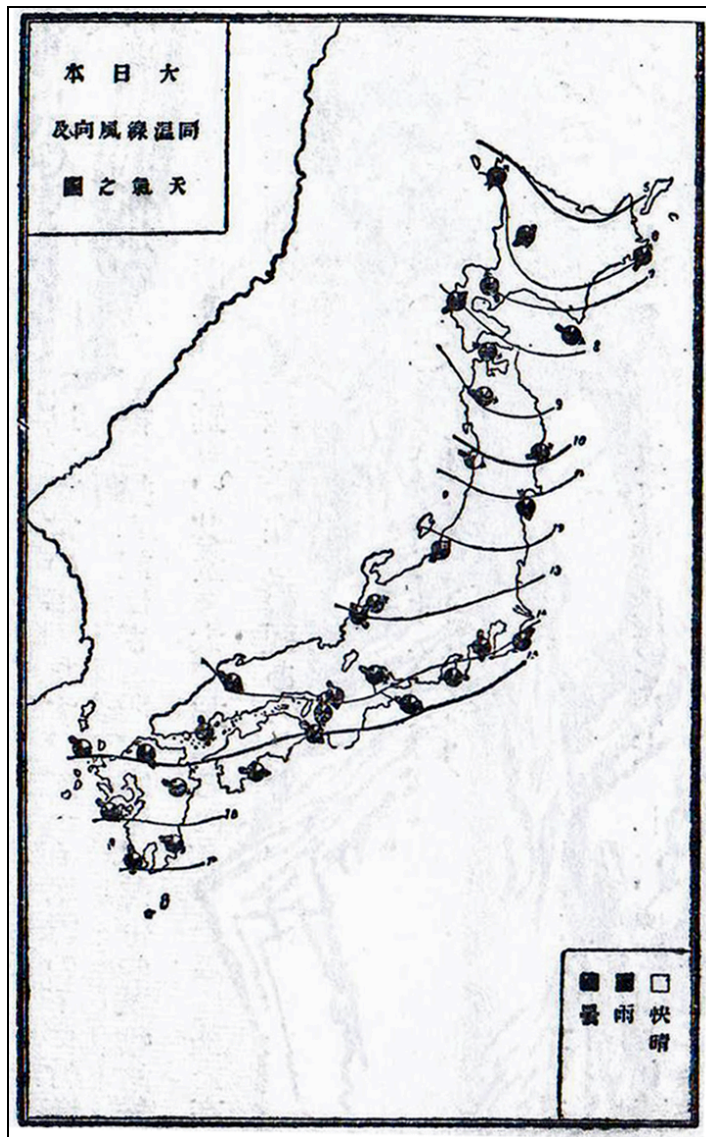
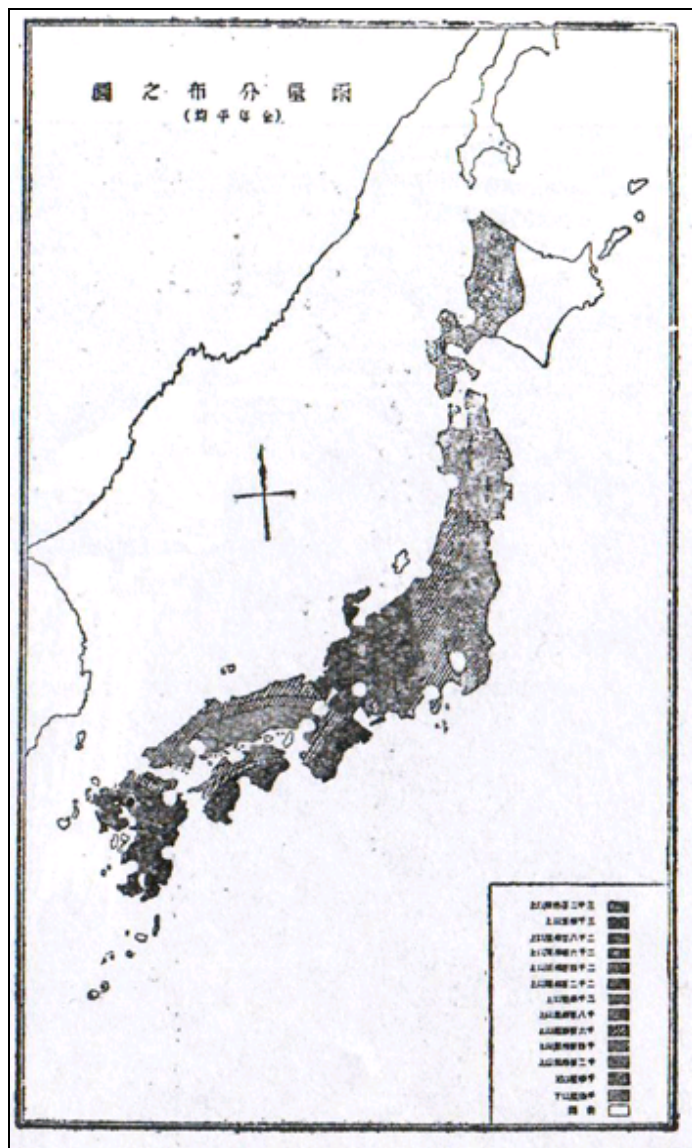


Figure 2.1: Weather Map in *On Japanese Landscape* (*On Japanese Landscape*, First edition, 1894, compiled in *the Complete Work of Shiga Shigetaka*, volume four, published in 1959)¹⁷.

¹⁷ Figures in the thesis were reproduced with permission with regards to the use of materials for examination purposes under U. K. copyright law.



The book also contains a large number of illustrations depicting natural scenery such as famous peaks, waterfalls and ravines. According to art historian Keiko Mashino, there are fifty-one illustrations in the fifteenth edition¹⁸ (Mashino 2008: 104). Several works on Shiga's masterpiece have pointed out the uniqueness of the arrangement of the illustrations that sketch picturesque views of Japanese nature (Inose 1986, Katō 2000, Anzai 2007, Mashino 2008). As Shiga noted in his foreword, most of the illustrations were drawn by two different artists, Sekko Hibata and Meishi Ebina. Sekko Hibata learnt both traditional and western painting in his young days while Meishi Ebina was a western style painter who enrolled at the former Tokyo University of the Arts to learn western painting. Sekko Hibata was assigned to the production of traditional style paintings while Meishi Ebina was responsible for the western style paintings of *On Japanese Landscape*. Thus, two different styles of painting – traditional style and western style – that sketch Japanese nature were arranged into one book. Mashino has also summarised the arrangement of the illustrations in the book (Mashino 2008). She points out that the traditional style paintings were more common in the book than western style illustrations. In the fifteenth edition, twenty-nine traditional paintings (twenty-seven pictures by Sekko Hibata) are found as against only fifteen paintings following the western style. Hibata's paintings are characterised by the higher overhead view and capture full views of mountains, a technique employed in traditional Chinese-Japanese landscape painting (Mashino 2008: 105) (figure 2.3, 2.4). In contrast, Ebina successfully produced photographic drawings by focusing on the very details of shapes of rocks (Mashino 2008) (figure 2.5).

¹⁸ In the first edition, twenty-four illustrations were contained; the increasing number of illustrations shows that Shiga paid more attention to the presence of the illustrations.

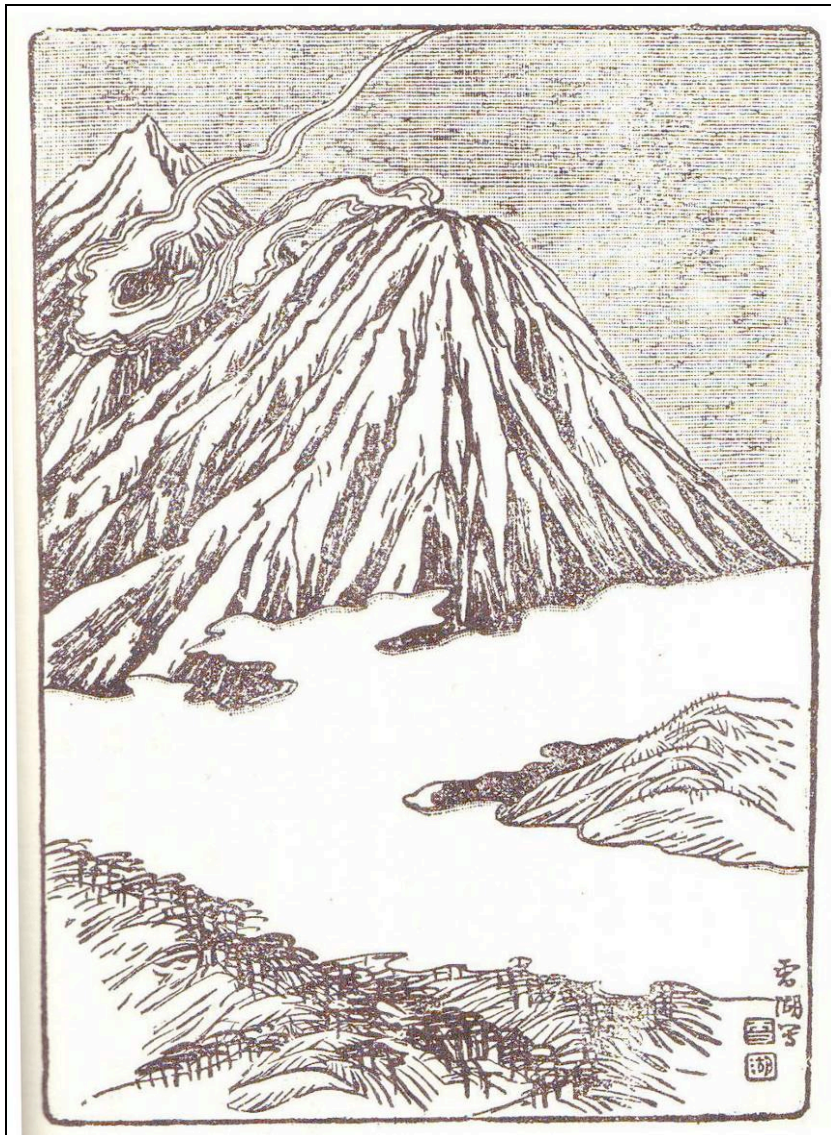


Figure 2.3: Sekko Hibata's illustration [Takatchihomine] in *On Japanese Landscape* (*On Japanese Landscape*, Third edition, 1895, reprint editions published in 1976).



Figure 2.4: Sekko Hibata's illustration [Kamoikotan] in *On Japanese Landscape* (*On Japanese Landscape*, Third edition, 1895, reprint editions published in 1976).

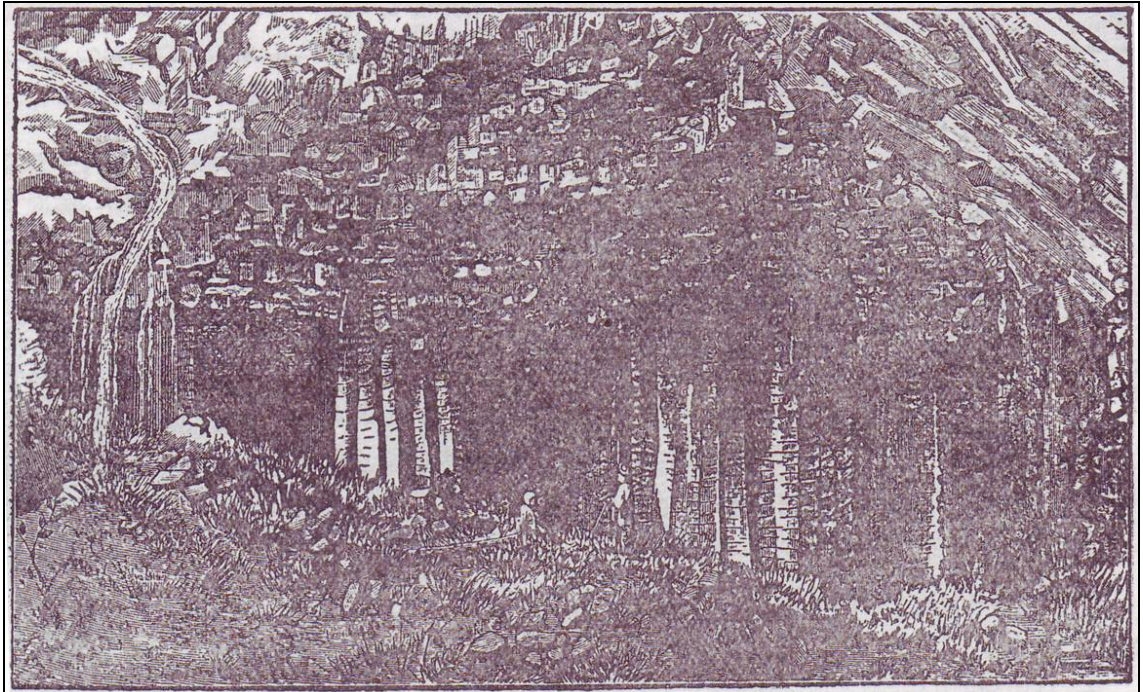


Figure 2.5: Ebina Meishi's illustration [Genfūdō] in *On Japanese Landscape* (*On Japanese Landscape*, First edition, 1894, compiled in *the Complete Work of Shiga Shigetaka*, volume four, published in 1959).

With regards to the structure and descriptions of *On Japanese Landscape*, it is widely accepted that the book was hugely inspired by the alpine literature of Western Europe, particularly alpine travel guides. English travel guide books published at the time played an important role in introducing a western way of seeing in Japanese nature. It has been argued that the contents of *On Japanese Landscape* have been borrowed from mainly three travel guide books written by westerners (Mita 1973, Arayama 1989, Yamamoto and Ueda 1997). First of all, Shiga learned *On Japanese Landscape*'s structure from Lubbock's *The Beauties of Nature published*¹⁹ in 1893, and quoted several passages from it. For example, quoting the description of the Tateyama Mountain from Lubbock's book, Arayama points out that Shiga's descriptions of the Tateyama Mountain and the views from its peak were based on Lubbock's description (Arayama 1989).

Furthermore, some descriptions of mountain landscapes in *On Japanese Landscape* were copied from Chamberlain and Mason's *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*²⁰ (Yamamoto and Ueda, 1997). They are arranged in the chapter on mountains which is the longest in the book. Additionally, the mountain section includes an addendum that offers practical advice on climbing mountains. This addendum entitled 'the need to cultivate mountaineering spirit' includes four sections and some parts of the sections seem to have been copied from *Art of Travel* by Galton²¹ (Yamamoto and Ueda 1997, Wigen 2005). The copied descriptions are arranged into two subsections; 'Preparation for climbing mountains' and 'Caution about climbing mountains.' Since Shiga was able to handle English and also might have had opportunities to collect the volume while working at Maruzen, a bookshop selling western books in 1897, it seems reasonable to assume that the descriptions of the mountains section and its addendum were entirely drawn from the western guide books on Japan (Mita 1973). As extensive research on the *On Japanese Landscape* has already indicated, many descriptions in Shiga's masterpiece were copied from

¹⁹ *The Beauties of Nature and Wonders of the World We Live in* was written by Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913), British banker and writer.

²⁰ *The Handbook for Travellers in Japan* was written by B. H. Chamberlain and W. B. Mason in 1891.

²¹ Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911) was a British geneticist, Charles Darwin's cousin. His *Art of Travel* was published in 1885.

several books which I have mentioned in this section (Mita 1973, Arayama 1989, Yamamoto and Ueda 1997, Wigen 2005 and so on). However, I would like to pay attention on the strong effect of Western discourses on Shiga's claims about the uniqueness of Japanese nature; Shiga's intention in publishing the book was to foster and enhance national identity in the period of Japan's imperial expansion abroad.

In the light of fostering national identity, Shiga attempted to build a framework of aesthetics to celebrate Japanese nature. In the second edition of *On Japanese Landscape* issued in December 1894, descriptions which offered three distinctive categories of aesthetics of Japanese landscape were added by Shiga; *shōsha* (elegance), *bi* (beauty), and *tettō* (wildness or sublime)²². The examination of these three aesthetic terms shows that Shiga was still obsessed with the conventional representations of Japanese nature scenery while scientific terminologies were introduced and employed to clarify Japanese nature.

However, Shiga's descriptions of the aesthetic categories in the preamble were not comprehensive while no scientific terms are used. The concept of *shōsha* (elegance) represents autumnal beauty in Japan composed of a variety of maple trees, followed by ten examples of '*shōsha* landscape'. Then, quoting a Japanese poem on maple leaves, he asserts that Japanese autumn was superior to English autumn. Furthermore, *bi* (beauty) is defined as the representation of Japanese spring. Shiga lists nine examples to give readers concrete images of '*bi* landscape', followed by two Chinese poems. Then, he asserts how Japan's spring with Japanese nightingales, plum blossoms in early spring, and cherry blossoms in late spring is admirable while he states that both the Chinese and the Koreans do not understand the beauty of Japanese spring. Similarly, a section on *tettō* (wildness or sublime) contains sixteen examples of '*tettō* landscape' without any explanation of the concept of *tettō*.

Ōmuro gives a careful consideration to the aesthetic categories that Shiga proposed

²² According to Mita, the idea of *tettō* equates to 'sublime' in the West while the ideas of *shōsha* and *bi* are similar to 'picturesque' (Mita 1973). Although Mita inferred that Shiga must have been familiar with those western aesthetic terms and ideas, it is not clear whether he intended to employ the three terms as an alternative to the European aesthetic or not (see Ōmuro 2003).

in the book (Ōmuro 2003). After he examines the concept of *syōsya* and its ten examples, Ōmuro points out that the first example of *shōsha*, ‘three long bamboos, poet house, one hundred plum blossoms, sage’s residence’ is one of the best known Chinese art motifs in the late Edo period (18-19th century) (Ōmuro 2003: 233). Most of the *syōsya* examples are similar to the conventional motifs of Chinese poems and art as well as those of *Haiku*²³. I am particularly concerned here with, as Ōmuro points out, the link between the examples and the literary code of classical poetry. Most of the examples contain names of well-known places such as Yodogawa River, Kamogawa River, Higashiyama, Suma, Miyagino, Tamagawa River, and Nara. These are places well-known as *meisho* and *utamakura*. Ōmuro thereby concludes the descriptions of the aesthetic categories proposed by Shiga that ‘each scene is nothing but postcards depicting *meisho* represented by language’ (Ōmuro 2003: 234).

What is made clear here is that the scenes described by Shiga were strongly connected with the traditional literary canon of pre-modern Japan²⁴. There seems to exist a continuity of aesthetic perceptions and their representations in *On Japanese Landscape* from the pre-modern to the modern (Ōmuro 2003, Mashino 2008). Therefore, it can be argued that although his scientific knowledge was enough to rationalise the Japanese landscape’s uniqueness and beauty, Shiga employed conventional literary representations for his aesthetic schemas to categorise the beauty of Japanese nature.

The examination of the *On Japanese Landscape* has shown how the descriptions and structure of the book were influenced by western discourses and knowledge. In particular, the highly visible materials, such as scientific maps and illustrations, provided a compelling sense of wonder which came from the big contrast of Japanese nature between new and conventional representations. Such visualisations of new Japanese nature and Japan itself inspired the Meiji Japanese to receive new

²³ One form of Japanese poetry consisting of seventeen syllabi which usually contain a seasonal reference.

²⁴ Ōmuro also mentions that Shiga’s rhetorical structure, listing motifs without any clarification and analysis, is similar to a traditional rhetoric employed in the Japanese classical essay, *The Pillow Book* (*Makura no Sōshi*) completed in 1002.

ways of seeing (Katō 2000).

Ironically, western discourses and knowledge were powerful instruments in fostering national identity although it is not certain whether Shiga was aware of this inconsistency or not. However, one aspect that I want to address here is the strong combination of new knowledge and visual orders constructed by the merging of western and traditional forms of knowledge. A series of juxtapositions of two different cartographic values were experienced by the Meiji Japanese. As Kato stresses, the tension between new and old played an important role in the production and popularisation of landscape as a novel idea (Katō 2000). At the same time the continuity in the aesthetic description and visual materials provided a stable base that enabled the Japanese people to receive the new idea of landscape.

In the next section, I show how Shiga's rhetoric, which combined new ways of seeing and conventional aesthetic perceptions, mobilised the Meiji Japanese. I discuss how the gaze of climbers as the emergent modern subject in Meiji Japan was practiced in and with 'modern Japanese natural landscapes' which Shiga introduced in *On Japanese Landscape*.

2.5 Practices of Natural Landscapes

'Our country is the beauty of mountains and rivers' (Bankei Ōtsuki).

(Shiga 1976[1895], vol. 1: 11)

(Translated by Gavin 2001: 28)

This is the poem that Shiga cited at the beginning of *On Japanese Landscape*. The poem represents the idea of beauty of Japanese nature proposed by Shiga. *On Japanese Landscape* was a powerful tool for introducing the beautification of alpine nature in Meiji Japan and to urge the Meiji Japanese to climb mountains (Arayama 1989). As mentioned earlier, the book discusses four different topics that feature the Japanese archipelago: climate and currents, steams and mists, volcanic mountains

and rocks, and erosion. In particular, the volcanic mountains section appears to show Shiga's enthusiasm for the Japanese alpine landscape and climbing practices. The section on volcanic mountains and rocks is the longest part of the book including an addendum²⁵ that describes practices of climbing mountains and, also, provides readers with practical advice for climbing²⁶.

The mountain section was based on the translation of Lubbok and Gaston's book although Shiga did not acknowledge the sources. The addendum in the end of the mountain section is what is called, a beginner's guide to mountaineering providing people with a variety of tips concerning climbing such as clothing, food and gear. While he draws detailed descriptions of each mountain from English travel guides, Shiga successfully describes the enjoyment of mountaineering and the great delight emerging when looking down at slopes from peaks. The following is a passage from 'the need to cultivate a mountaineering spirit', which tries to teach the reader new sensations and experiences that can be gained through climbing.

When you gain the summit and look down, it is as though a gorgeous painting were opening up at your feet, revealing the contours of the earth's surface spreading out before you. Once you gain this view, you will feel as though you are no longer in the realm of human things, but have been lifted up above the heavens; it is positively as though you were looking down on our planet from another planet out in space. Such a sight will make your heart expand, and your spirit will soar. Once you have experienced the sublime qualities of mountains; once you have awakened to their magnificent splendour; once you have taken a deep breath of the alpine air, so fresh that it seems to cleanse your lungs; once you have allowed your thoughts to fall still and become immersed in the lonely quiet there –then your mind will become like those of the gods and sages, and you will experience firsthand the glow of divine wisdom....For these reasons, a mountain is at once the most fascinating, the most magnificent, the most noble, and the most sacred thing in the natural world. This is why we must cultivate a mountaineering spirit. Yes, we must cultivate it to the utmost.

(Shiga 1976[1895], vol. 1: 18)

(Translated by Wigen 2005: 13)²⁷

²⁵ Arayama (1989), by examining the contents of each edition of *On Japanese Landscape* printed in the advertisements, reveals that the addendum was provided between July and October 1984.

²⁶ In fact, 48.0% of the book was dedicated to volcanic mountains and the addendum.

²⁷ Different versions of the translation of this passage are provided by Okada (Okada 1997: 100)

The passage reveals that Shiga's description is tightly connected with sensations and experiences which people could gain through climbing mountains. He proposes the aesthetic of 'wilderness' and 'sublime' of alpine landscape. What Shiga actually proposed here is a perspective that would enable people to look at the world out of the planet (Katō 2000). Shiga's writing elucidated the great delight of the act of looking down at the external world from a mountain peak. However, I would like to argue here that the acquisition of the downward gaze relates to the acquisition of sensibility and emotions. Through the description of this new way of seeing and sensing, the Meiji Japanese learned how to gain the new sensation as well as gaze in order to experience the sublime quality of Japanese nature. However, Shiga was not an experienced alpinist himself (Mita 1973, Arayama 1989, Ōmuro 2003). Subsequently, Shiga's writing, especially the descriptions of mountains and mountain spirits, were not based on his real experiences but they were backed by his sedentary scientific knowledge.

As I have noted Shiga's masterpiece brought the secularisation of mountains to the Meiji Japanese. This discussion is linked to the idea that there was a shift in the concept of mountains from a religious sense to a secular sense. In the history of alpine practices in Japan, climbing mountains had been a religious activity until modern alpinism came into Japan during the Meiji period (Koizumi 2001). As Kunio Yanagita, a Japanese folklore researcher mentioned earlier in the chapter noted: 'it was during the Meiji period that mountain climbing gained popularity; formerly an expression of religious faith, it became a sport, and a chance for travel and adventure' (cited in Gavin, 2001: 35). Besides, one important point which Okada mentions is:

NFR [On Japanese Landscape] gave its readers a compelling sense of immediate physical referentiality, a sense of residing in a measurable, chartable physical sense existing from the beginning of time and possessing a vast inventory of characteristics unique. It imparted to its readers the impression of belonging to and being able to travel with relative freedom (if not complete safety) within a nationalized space that existed as a concrete entity with scientifically describable, variegated attributes and clearly perceivable borders

(Okada 1997: 95)

In short, the secularisation of the mountain space and a sense of transparency, safety and freedom given by the scientific representations of the book enabled the Meiji Japanese to travel to mountainous Japanese nature. Climbing, however, was already a popular activity among the pre-modern Japanese as part of their religious practices. Shiga's scientific descriptions provoked the secularization of mountains. This resulted in inspiring a number of amateur climbers, such as Usui Kojima, who later produced a large number of alpine essays and became the founder of the Japanese Alpine Club.

The foundation of the Japanese Alpine Club can be considered an iconic event in the history of alpinism in Japan (Koizumi 2001: 135). It was established in 1905 as a branch of the Association of Natural History in Japan (founded in 1900). Arayama points out that the increase in research interest in mountains prompted the foundation of the Alpine Club (1989). For both Japanese botanists and visiting botanists from the West, mountain areas and highlands were important research fields to be explored at the time (Arayama 1989). Together with the scientific call for opening sacred places, the modernisation of alpine practices was led by Shiga's follower, Usui Kojima, an amateur climber, who was tremendously inspired by the *On Japanese Landscape*.

The following statement shows Kojima's passion for mountaineering and its link with *On Japanese Landscape*:

If you want to know what *Nihon Fūkei ron* [*On Japanese Landscape*] is all about, it is about a genuine love for one's motherland. Let's suppose that you scoop a handful of soil from where you are standing and put it in front of others asking what they think of its aroma. I am sure they would turn their face away from it remarking that such soil is dirty because they blindly believe that only cement or concrete would represent civilisation. *Nihon Fūkei ron* would teach you that the soil was carried there by the melted snow of Mt Fuji. Where on earth could one find the most beautiful soil like this?

(Translated by Gavin, 2001: 34)

While Kojima was one of the founding members of The Japanese Alpine Club, he

also became the first president of the club in 1905. The encounter with Walter Weston, a missionary priest and a member of the Alpine Club in England, was a significant event for Kojima in the development and proliferation of mountaineering (Koizumi 2001). Weston suggested to Kojima to found an alpine club in Japan and also informed him that the club in England issued alpine journals. Thus, Kojima acknowledged the importance of establishing the alpine club, and declared in the prospectus as follows:

Modelled on *The Alpine Journal* of the West, we publish the alpine journal 'Sangaku' (*Alpine*) in order to provide articles related to all the mountain areas and enlighten the spirit of mountain climbing and its knowledge....It aims to work for enabling the improvement of hiking facilities for ordinary climbers, development of new climbing routes, and publication activities of mountain guides all over Japan.

(in Koizumi, 2001: 140)
(Translated by the author)

Here, obviously, the mountain is no longer a sacred place for Meiji climbers. The aim of establishing the Japanese Alpine club was to popularise mountaineering by improving the hiking and climbing environment. Thus, the secularization of mountains and popularization of climbing were led by Shiga's followers.

Noteworthy here is the difference of action between Shiga and Kojima. Wigen points out that while Shiga, as an armchair climber, contributed to both the introduction of modern mountaineering practices and the proliferation of sublime quality through his popular book, Kojima devoted his energy to more practical issues of popularising mountaineering (Wigen 2005). The *On Japanese Landscape* played an important role as a booster for the modernisation of alpine practices whereas the power to invoke a sense of 'looking down at the planet' and the sublime quality were animated only by his sedentary knowledge. Meanwhile, echoing Shiga's voice to cultivate new ways of alpine practices, Kojima's energy was put both to exploring the highlands and to produce alpine essays (Wigen 2005).

Japanese cultural geographer Masahiko Arayama also reveals that Shiga's masterpiece inspired not only Usui Kojima but several other members of the

Japanese Alpine Club. For instance, inspired by Shiga's *On Japanese Landscape*, Ritarō Kogure, a member of the Japan Alpine Club and one of the leading alpinists of the time, wrote that 'the most exciting thing of climbing a mountain is to stand at the peak of a high mountain and to look down all around' (in Arayama, 1989: 561, translated by author) in his travelogue of Komagatake Mountain. Then Kogure admired the sublime quality of the view spreading out below him. Arayama concludes that the aim of climbing mountains for Kogure was to gain the sublime qualities of the alpine scenery (1989). Like Kogure, several alpine travelogues written by members of the Japan Alpine Club showed that they regarded the magnificent views from peaks as the most valuable sight, and encouraged readers to climb mountains (Arayama 1989).

One aspect that I want to stress here is that modern climbing practices in the early modern period of Japan were carried out by a part of the social elite of that time. Historical geographer Karen Wigen reveals that the Japan Alpine Club was composed of 'doctors, lawyers, bankers, and students from the most selective imperial universities, along with a sprinkling of movie stars and imperial princes' (Wigen 2005: 24). Moreover, Ōmuro argues that mountaineering practices in the period were linked with the emergence of civil society in early modern Japan (2003: 57). In this sense, amateur climbers such as Usui Kojima and Ritarō Kogure can be considered emergent bourgeois in early modern Japan (Ōmuro 2003). It seems that, concomitantly with the secularisation of the mountains, the downward gaze and its sensibility that Shiga proposed was initially acquired and consumed by the emergent bourgeoisie in early modern Japan.

Practices of alpine mountain landscapes undertaken by the social elites helped popularise a new aesthetic concept of nature as Japanese landscape. The downward gaze from a peak and its sublime-like quality that Shiga offered were received by the members of the Japan Alpine Club through the basic corporeality underlying the experience of travelling although Shiga was not an experienced alpinist. In other words, the new ways of seeing Japanese mountains were experienced through the bodily practices of modern alpinism and the new gazes/sensibilities that the

Japanese landscapes offered to people were acquired through corporeal movements. The modern experiences of viewing natural landscapes, which mobilised the Meiji Japanese to the Japanese mountains, were received and also practiced. Furthermore, the description of what people can actually see from a certain standpoint and what they feel and experience were parts of the process of reception of the modern ways of seeing nature. The acquired gaze and sensibilities were repeatedly performed while their narratives on landscape experiences were described as personal travelogues. In this way, the practices of modern landscapes participated in the construction of a new subjectivity which acquired new ways of seeing nature.

Having considered the rhetoric of *On Japanese Landscape* and the practices inspired by it, I return to the tensions which emerged at the moment of the discovery of modern landscape. As I have shown, two different illustrations in *On Japanese Landscape* provided its readers with the strong contrast of landscape painting between the conventional and modern representation. The book contains traditional landscape values that had been developed as literal conventions since the 9th century while scientific knowledge from the West constituted the novelty of the book.

The discovery of modern Japanese landscapes always revolves around the tension between past and present, conventional and new. There seems to exist a contradiction between Shiga's motivation for writing *On Japanese Landscape* and his rhetoric driven by western scientific discourses. While his masterpiece can be considered as an eclectic mixture, his insistence on the superiority of Japanese nature, based on scientific terminologies, seems to contradict the description of aesthetic categories with which he aimed at rationalising the Japanese natural beauty. However, I suggest that the representational strategy that lies in the book – the juxtaposition of two different values – must be seen as a strong vehicle in the reception of new knowledge, cultural values, experiences, sensibilities and imaginative geographies. Such a visual order functions as the instrument of transforming both nature and the meanings of the ways of seeing nature, in early modern Japan. As Katō asserts, the astonishing contrasts between the two representations forced the Meiji Japanese to realise the difference between

ukiyo-e-like landscape and western landscape painting (Katō 2000). It is a stimulating viewing event for them. These tensions can be considered as active forces in paying attention to new ways of seeing modern Japan. The juxtapositions of two different and sometimes controversial cultural values are powerful tools in the formation of modern Japanese landscapes. By visualising such oscillations between conventional and novel ideas, Shiga's masterpiece helped to achieve the revolutionary shift in the concept of landscapes in early modern Japan.

Mountaineering and its spirit, which Shiga introduced, can be considered as an invitation to re-discover the 'nature' of the country. The conventional ways of seeing nature that had been developed by social elites and aristocrats in pre-modern Japan were strongly connected with representations of literary allusions and aesthetic codes and they were represented in traditional Japanese landscape painting in pre-modern Japan. However, by popularising mountains as places of sensation as well as areas for scientific surveys, Shiga's book, with its inclusion of scientific terminologies and maps, encouraged the emancipation from the conventional representation of landscape in pre-modern Japan and constructed the 'modern Japanese landscape' (Berque 1990, Katō 2000, Sato 2004, Wigen 2005).

The importation of 'new consciousness of nature as Japanese landscape' (Thomas 2001 cited in Siegenthaler 2004: 83) provided the social basis for the popular reception of a new aesthetic concept of 'Japanese nature'. The concept of 'wilderness' or 'sublime' representing a scenic quality of natural landscapes can be linked to the establishment of the first Japanese national park(s) in early modern Japan (Katsuura 1979). The Japanese scholar Akio Shimomura introduces Shiga's text as a marker of raising awareness of the sublime nature among the Japanese that became one of the major attractions in modern tourism (Shimomura 2007). In addition, the period of publication of the *On Japanese Landscape* almost coincided with movements for the establishment of Japanese national parks. According to Arayama, the first proposal to establish Japanese national parks was approved at the parliament in 1911 although the realisation of the parks did not begin until the 1930s (Arayama 1998). He focuses on the link between the establishment of Japanese

national parks and the popularisation of an aesthetic concept of Japanese nature and its scenic quality (Arayama 1996; 1998). Drawing from the designation of a national park at Kamikouchi, Nagano prefecture in Japan, Arayama reveals how the Kamikouchi uplands previously considered as a place for livelihood were transformed into the aesthetic object of gaze (Arayama 1996; 1998). Although he did not make a clear connection between Shiga's text and the establishment of national parks in Japan, he concludes that the selection of national parks at the time relied on the 'sublime' and 'wilderness' of alpine scenery while conventional *meisho* places, such as the Biwa Lake and Matsushima-islands, which had previously been famous for their waterfront and/or seaside scenery were not selected (Arayama 1998)²⁸. Thus, throughout the early period of the 20th century, the scenic quality of 'wilderness' or 'sublime', introduced by Shiga and subsequently accepted by the Meiji social elites, turned out to be one of the dominant forms of tourist landscapes able to convey new aesthetics towards nature to the Japanese public through the national park system.

It should be noted that the reception of the new aesthetics of 'Japanese nature' went hand in hand with another form of modern identity formation. As discussed in section 2.1, Karatani has highlighted the relationship between the emergence of the modern subject and the discovery of landscapes in early modern Japanese literary practices. Furthermore, Okada has also established the connection between the emergence of 'natural descriptions' and the 'discovery of landscapes' in literary texts. In this sense, the social basis for the acquisition of a modern concept of landscapes was not only provided through Shiga's book and his followers. It seems that the reception of the modern notion of landscape was also part of the processes of the Meiji modernisation.

The construction of natural Japanese landscapes during the westernising Meiji period is understood as a process of modernising the ways of seeing in Japan. Shiga's masterpiece strongly helped in the modernisation of the Japanese gaze and

²⁸ However, there was one marine park, entitled Setonaikai Kaichū Kōen, designated as national in 1932.

the transformation of landscape representations, experiences and meanings in Japanese culture. It is clear that Shiga's work was crucial in popularizing modern ways of seeing although the 'traditional' Japanese ways of seeing remained in *On Japanese Landscape*. In addition, as discussed by Takanori Li (1996), the popularisation of the new ways of seeing would subsequently help to produce another modern 'Japanese landscape' at the end of the Meiji period.

Katsuura reviewed major works related to 'landscape' including *On Japanese Landscape*, published after the Meiji period until the 1940s (Katsuura 1979). He concluded that under the influence of Shiga's masterpiece, most of the work in social sciences dealt with 'natural' landscapes such as alpine and/or seaside sceneries. It may be said that there was no drastic change in the ways of seeing 'sublime nature' between the middle of the Meiji period and the end of the Second World War²⁹.

At the same time, Katsuura (1979) pointed out that there was a growth in awareness of another consciousness of 'Japanese landscape', what he called 'ordinary landscape', rather than 'sublime nature' and *meisho* places among the Japanese public in the post-war period. Through an analysis of school textbooks in early modern Japan (1904-1954), Katsuura traced a change of textual representations of the 'ordinary landscape' of the time. His analysis showed the emergence of another consciousness of 'Japanese landscape' in early modern Japan although he did not discuss the reason of the increasing interest towards it in post-war Japan (Katsuura 1979).

Li suggests that the origin of the notion of 'ordinary Japanese landscape' can be traced back to the end of the Meiji period (1996). He discusses the relationship between the modernisation of literary practices that happened in the late 19th century and the emergence of the idea of 'ordinary landscapes' (Li 1996). However, I suggest that Shiga's widely read treatise also had a crucial influence in the

²⁹ However, Katsuura also stated that there were some movements which attempted to re-evaluate conventional ways of seeing nature particularly during the Second World War (Katsuura 1979).

emergence of the ordinary landscape in the late Meiji period. This is because the concepts regarding landscape experiences and representations articulated by Shiga prompted the devaluation of the traditional ways of seeing such as *meisho*. Furthermore, as argued by Li (1996), Shiga's masterpiece devaluated the aesthetic qualities of landscapes which *meisho*-places were endowed with by not only introducing the western notion of landscapes but also providing a unitary picture of 'Japan'. It produced *meisho*-like places all over Japan and popularised traditional landscape aesthetics (Li 1996). Thus, the 'popularisation' of traditional landscape aesthetics became instrumental in producing modern tourist landscapes and its practices.

As Katō points out, 'ordinary landscapes' were subsequently well developed and popularised through the practices of modern tourism in post-war Japan (2000) although 'traditional' approaches to landscapes can still be frequently observed in contemporary practices of tourist landscapes. Thereby, the questions are: 1) how and why the 'ordinary landscape' was developed in the late modern period of Japan, and 2) how does it relate to the power of the visual particularly in relation to practices of modern tourism? I will discuss this issue in more detail in the next chapter, highlighting the discovery of 'the Japanese countryside'.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the introduction and formation of Japanese modern landscapes delivered by one modern geographer and nationalistic journalist in the early modern period of Japan. I began my discussion by identifying both the historical contexts of early modern Japan and the complexity and tension that lay behind the 'discovery of modern Japanese landscape'. I also showed the importance of considering oscillations between continuity and discontinuity in the investigation of the modern process of inscribing and popularising new social values and meanings through visual geographical knowledge and its practices.

The detailed examination of *On Japanese Landscape* revealed that the visual and textual rhetoric that Shiga employed in the book was an eclectic invention of both western and Japanese conventional knowledge. Such eclectic invention produced the new conception of 'Japanese landscape'; the rationalisation of the uniqueness of Japanese nature, alpine beauty and climbing practices. While Shiga's aim with publishing *On Japanese Landscape* was to foster national identity, his discussion on the uniqueness of 'Japanese landscapes' highly relied on western discourses.

The final section showed that through mountaineering Shiga's contemporaries successfully practiced modern Japanese landscapes and acquired the downward gaze and new aesthetics embedded in Japanese alpine landscapes. The reception of landscape sensibilities, namely 'wilderness' or 'sublime', also went hand in hand with the construction of the mobile looking subject in the transitional period of Japan. However, the discovery of Japanese nature driven by Shiga's book and its followers does not mean that there was no natural landscape/ways of seeing nature in pre-modern Japan. Rather, it was the first step towards the popularisation of new aesthetic values towards nature and its practices shaped by imaginative visual geographies built upon the conventional aesthetics in the process of modernisation.

Chapter Three

The Discovery of the Japanese Countryside in the Post-war Period

The mountains are not mountains anymore
The sun is not the sun
One tends to forget how it was;

I see myself, I see
The shore of darkness on my brow,
Once I was whole, once I was young

“An Old Man Awake In His Own Death” by Mark Strand
(Quoted from *Underground*, by Haruki Murakami)

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the essential cultural and historical contexts for understanding contemporary tourist landscapes in Japan. It discusses the emergence of another Japanese landscape – ‘the Japanese countryside’ – and the relationship between commercial photography and the practices of nostalgic domestic tourism. By addressing the existing discussions on the influential tourism campaign that took place in the 1970s, I argue that within the context of domestic tourism visual culture driven by the mass media helped create new ways of seeing and practices in the late modern period of Japan. It also shows that the power of modern advertising to mobilise people increased in the 1970s through the production and visualisation of ‘the Japanese countryside’.

I begin the chapter by establishing connections between Japan as a mass consumption society and its visual culture to provide a background to the discussion

that follows. I argue that the development of the tourist gaze, strongly driven by the mass media, helps popularise new ways of viewing the countryside as 'Japanese landscape' and practices in the context of Japanese domestic tourism.

The second section focuses on a tourism campaign of the 1970s entitled 'Discover Japan' with the aim to reveal how tourism and visual culture 'discovered' as well as represented the new Japanese scenery and subjectivity. The campaign successfully mobilised the Japanese to the countryside by representing it as a place where lost 'Japaneseness' and authenticity still remained. Initially I sketch out the discussion of Japanese domestic tourism in post-war Japan and its relationship with the 'Discover Japan' campaign. Secondly, by focusing on the tourism posters and the strategic photographic techniques of tourism marketing, I examine what visual rhetoric allowed people to acquire a new gaze to consume the new 'Japanese countryside'.

The next section continues with the analysis of the campaign where I pay particular attention to the construction of the looking subject that occurs parallel to the production of new landscapes. I discuss the presence of young female women appearing in tourism posters and how the campaign posters themselves turned tourists into an object of photography through the issues of 'Japaneseness' during post-war Japan.

Finally, I take a closer look at practices of the new looking subject proposed by the mass media in order to investigate changing meanings and values inscribed into the Japanese countryside as a tourist landscape. This section explains the intimate relationship between the mass media and selected consumption styles and tourist behaviour in the tourism of post-war Japan. Through the detailed analysis of travel magazines featuring domestic tourism, my focus is on how the Japanese countryside is visualised and valorised as a stage for tourist practices in the late modern Japan.

3.1 Post-war Japan and the ‘Discover Japan’ Campaign

Defeated in autumn 1945, the Japanese government set two major goals: re-construction of domestic development and recovery of international relations through economic growth and industrialisation, which aimed at a return to the international community (Gluck 1993, Siegenthaler 2004). The success of the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964 marked Japan’s return to ‘a position of stability and cohesion, underscoring its reestablishment as a unified, ordered society where public efforts were coordinated to serve agreed-upon goals’ (Siegenthaler 2004: 1). Following the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, the 1970 Japan World Exposition held in Osaka (Expo 70) can be considered as a benchmark of ‘internationalisation’ in the history of post-war Japan. For instance, Carol Gluck in her analysis of a change of public consciousness that took place between 1945 and 1989-1990 introduces a statement of the Prime Minister of the time: ‘At Expo 70 Premier Satō invited foreign visitors to view Japan, “where we are building a new civilization on the foundations of an ancient tradition”’ (Tokyo Shinbun, March 14, 1970 in Gluck 1993: 72). In addition, Ivy describes the year of 1970 when the ‘Discover Japan’ campaign was formulated as follows: ‘It was the peak of high-level economic growth, the year of Expo’70 (the first world fair held in an Asian country), and the year when pollution became a national issue’ (Ivy 1995: 36).

Japanese sociologist Osamu Tada (Tada 2004) suggests that the Tokyo Olympics and the subsequent Expo 70 marked the development period of the desire to gaze at ‘an object-world’ (Mitchell 1989). In other words, both events brought ‘an object-world’ to be seen or the ‘frenzy of visible’ (Comolli 1980: 122) to post-war Japanese. Coincidentally, restrictions on Japanese travel abroad were relaxed in 1964. Together with the two events, various visual mass media such as TV, photographic magazines and advertising industries offered to the post-war Japanese an opportunity to view the world as an object (Tada 2004: 28). Political theorist Timothy Mitchell argues that the later 19th century saw the emergence of ‘world as exhibition’ in Europe (Mitchell 1989: 222). Spectacles such as dioramas, panoramas and world exhibitions ‘set the world up as a picture. They arranged it before an

audience as an object on display to be viewed, investigated, and experienced' (Mitchell 1989: 220). British geographer Derek Gregory suggests that such a way of conceiving the world 'implies both a setting of the world in place before oneself, as an object over and against the viewing subject, and the making of the world intelligible as a systematic order through a process of *enframing*' (Gregory 1994: 34). Tada also suggests that the 'Discover Japan' campaign is considered as a benchmark in the emergence of the tourist gaze in post-war Japan, stressing the crucial role of post-war mass media in the formation of the nation-state through domestic tourism (Tada 2004).

Commercial photography and modern advertising play important roles in generating desires in contemporary capitalist societies. Commercial photography in post-war Japan pictured and produced familiar places in dramatic ways and transformed them into 'unfamiliar places'. While the Meiji elites of early modern Japan 'discovered' the Japanese alpine beauty underpinned by the eclectic mixture of western and conventional Japanese values (chapter two), another kind of 'Japanese landscape' enforced by the idea of self-exoticism was re-invented through highly visual mass campaigns in post- industrial Japan.

The rapid economic growth in particular between the late 1950s and 1960s achieved through industrialisation after the Second World War brought a vast improvement to the lives of most Japanese people. As a result, Japan became one of the biggest and most conspicuous examples of a mass consumption society. By the 1980s, Japan's rapid industrialization brought more than 80% of the Japanese population into urban areas. While some research on post-war Japan has focused on political, social, economical changes and status (Gordon 1993, Bailey 1996, Kingston 2001), other scholars have paid more attention to consumption, popular culture and everyday life that developed in post-war Japan (J. Tobin 1992b, Treat 1996, Clammer 1997). Clammer states that there are two reasons why Japan can be considered as a remarkable case of the creation of a mass consumption society in Asia (1997). One is its sheer scale of mass consumption: 'a large population, heavily concentrated in large cities, apparently committed to consumption as a way of life.' The other is the

massive social and cultural change led by ‘the very rapid and complex expansion and penetration of mass consumption since the 1960s’ (Clammer 1997: 2).

Some cultural anthropologists have discussed the practices of self-exoticism or search for ‘Japaneseness’ by postmodern Japanese (Ivy 1988, Creighton 1992, J. Tobin 1992). Economic growth and increasing westernisation had turned ‘Japaneseness into the exotic’ (Creighton 1992: 53). Tobin also describes this process as ‘self-orientalising...Japanese, like Argentineans, see themselves as Others in the French mirror’ (J. Tobin 1992: 170). It is argued that the gaze of looking at themselves as ‘Other’ could act as a strong vehicle for understanding the formation and practices of contemporary Japanese landscape. I will discuss the construction and practice of self-orientalising gaze in chapter six by making use of Asuke’s contemporary image-making activities in the context of domestic tourism.

Rapid changes such as industrialisation, urbanisation, and the standardisation of cultural norms after the Second World War enhanced people’s feeling of the loss of ‘traditional’ cultural values (Ivy 1995, I. M. Daniels 2001a). Such anxiety/sense of detachment from the past urged the Japanese to travel to the countryside for ‘a temporary recuperation of a lost self’ (Ivy 1988: 22). In this way, Japanese urbanites were defined as those who suffered from a loss of cultural identity and the campaign deliberately exploited such desires of the Japanese of the 1970s. As a result, it urged them to travel to the Japanese countryside and rural places like their own home towns/villages. Thus, the discovery of the new ‘Japanese landscape’ appeared as a quest for authentic experiences among the urban Japanese.

The ‘Discover Japan’ campaign and domestic tourism in post-war Japan have been discussed in the literature by examining how ‘tradition’ and ‘Japaneseness’ are re-constructed through domestic tourism and the mass media (Ivy 1988; 1995, Creighton 1995, Katō 2000 and so fourth). Marilyn Ivy examines the production of national-cultural discourses in post-war Japan through the analysis of public representations such as advertising slogans, touristic discourses and academic texts (Ivy 1995). Her analyses of two tourism campaigns – ‘Discover Japan’ organised by

the Japanese National Railway (JNR, current Japan Railways) in the 1970s and a subsequent JNR campaign entitled 'Exotic Japan' in the 1980s – reveal the obsession with nostalgic recuperations in post-war Japan despite the differences in the form of the representations, such as the visual rhetoric of posters.

At the same time, Norihiro Katō discusses how the 'Discover Japan' campaign offered a new type of Japanese landscape to the Japanese public (Katō 2000). He argues that the 'Discover Japan' campaign was a significant event that assisted in the reformation of the new Japanese countryside reflecting an (imagined) national, cultural home for the post-war Japanese. The highly visible tourism promotion offered the post-war Japanese an opportunity to experience a new object-world and subject, one that acquired a new way of seeing 'Japan'. The 'Discover Japan' case study provides insights for understanding the manner in which people in the late modern period of Japan acquired new ways of seeing, especially in relation to the production of contemporary tourist landscape. Meanwhile, the campaign could be also conceived as a benchmark in re-valorising the countryside landscapes in relation to domestic tourism in post-war Japan through the development of visual culture. In that respect, I aim to show who produced contemporary tourist landscapes and how they are consumed and practiced within the context of Japanese domestic tourism.

3.2 On the 'Discover Japan' Campaign

Expo 70 attracted a large number of Japanese from all over Japan to Osaka. The JNR brought 20,000,000 people to Expo 70. The 'Discover Japan' campaign, was organized by JNR, in collaboration with Dentsū, the largest advertising company in Japan, with the aim of preventing a rapid decrease in the number of railway passengers after Expo 70 (Mori 2007). The marketing strategy that JNR and Dentsū undertook was to encourage urban dwellers to travel to the Japanese countryside. The campaign, which became one of the longest and most successful campaigns in post-war Japan, took place between 1970 and 1977 and promoted domestic tourism

in Japan. It resulted in a huge success in generating new Japanese landscapes and maintaining the volume of passenger transportation.

In contemporary Japanese tourism, the obsession with the past is strongly connected with tourism production. As the cultural anthropologist Jennifer Robertson states: ‘the relationship between tourism, a sense of nostalgia and the Japanese countryside, tourism (whether passive or active) is one important agent of authentication and double nostalgia, drawing popular attention to the countryside as a desirable site of interiorising practices’ (J. Robertson 1998: 118). Most authors argue that the idea of *furusato* has been a key topic in understanding domestic tourism in post-war Japan (Creighton 1995, Graburn 1998; 2008, I. M. Daniels 2001a). *Furusato* means ‘home town/village’ or native place on which urban dwellers could attach a sense of nostalgia. It represents not only real places in the countryside or outer regions of Japan but also imaginary places. *Furusato* is related to an imaginative home place that urbanites dreamt about. Places like *furusato* or places with a homely atmosphere were attractive sites for tourists, especially for urban dwellers. Creighton’s definition shows the clear relationship between *furusato* and tourism industries:

Although *furusato* once designated a person’s own native hometown and the bonds with that place created through memories of childhood, the modern tourism industry suggests that any Japanese person can travel to any rural place and experience it as their own *furusato*.

(Creighton 1995: 467)

Tourism industries successfully created *furusato* with the promotion of ‘nostalgia’ (Ivy 1988, Creighton 1995). This is because domestic tourism for urbanites in post-war Japan was connected with their identity crisis. While most of the countryside was heavily depopulated since the 1960s, many of urban dwellers, who migrated from the countryside to urban areas seeking more job opportunities, travelled back to *furusato* to meet their families and relatives or *furusato*-like places in order to relieve their agonizing alienation. As Ivy argued, it may be said that domestic tourism was formed as an opportunity to search the urbanites’ identity and to fight alienation (Ivy 1995). Tourism to the countryside in Japan is understood as ‘one of several strategies to fight this alienation’ (I. M. Daniels 2001: 94).

An important parameter in the construction of *furusato* and its adoption for the production of tourist products is that new meanings and values are added to places. ‘Tradition’ and/or ‘Japaneseness’ are produced and reproduced in the discourse of *furusato* with the help of domestic tourism. Travelling to *furusato*-like places is linked to the re-invention of tradition. As Robertson notes, ‘*furusato*-villages provide access to another, presumably more “authentic” world’ (Robertson 1995: 97). Rural Japan is idealised as a place where one can see the *real Japan*. For instance, Creighton demonstrates how silk-weaving is re-created as a *Japanese* craft in the context of Japanese domestic tourism (Creighton 1995). By participating in silk-weaving seminars held in remote areas of the Japanese Alps, Japanese women travelling from urban areas learn silk-weaving as a ‘traditional Japanese craft’.

Another example of a *furusato* related product is the post office’s “*furusato* parcel post” service commenced in 1985 (also see I. M. Daniels 2001a). People can choose from an online catalogue a variety of regional foods, flowers, drinks, and handicrafts and their orders will be delivered directly to them via the “*furusato* parcel post” service. The products are introduced with colourful photographs showing farm producers and farms, and short descriptions, highlighting their local and unique character. As Robertson points out, this is the way people cannot travel to *furusato*-like places ‘participate in the discourses of *furusato* in Japanese domestic tourism by choosing from a variety of stuffs and handicrafts’ (Robertson 1995: 97). The above example suggests that the idea of *furusato* also helps to emphasise the local character and uniqueness of places while it produces tourism spaces where ‘Japaneseness’ and ‘traditions’ are present.

Meanwhile, the ‘Discover Japan’ campaign played on that sense of nostalgia, showing *furusato*-like landscapes which reflected more authentic and forgotten Japaneseness for the post-war Japanese. ‘Discover Japan’ was a highly visible campaign with large coloured posters displayed in the windows of railway stations. Mountains, forests, streams, ravines and even isolated shrines and temples were employed as essential elements in composing nostalgic atmospheres for the post-war

Japanese (Ivy 1988). Consequently, as Ivy suggests, “‘Discovery Japan’ advocated a more solitary and small-scale form of travel in which landscapes became settings for miniature dramas of discovery’ (Ivy 1988: 22). Visual representations were deliberately employed as a tool to urge urban dwellers to travel to the countryside, or ‘old home village/town’ (*furusato*), including both well-known and unknown tourism sites of the day.

The campaign urged urban dwellers to go back to their own home villages/towns or even travel to *furusato*-like places to have their holidays. Although the campaign was designed to grab young women’s attention, it successfully attracted a wide range of generations in urban areas. However, I suggest that urban dwellers’ reason for travelling to the countryside was not only to go back to their rural roots but also to consume the Japanese countryside representing lost authentic Japanese values.

Visualising a new Japanese countryside or *furusato*-like places was carried out mainly through the poster production in the campaign. As Ivy and Katō state, there are several ‘unusual’ characteristics in the posters (Ivy 1988, Katō 2000). Firstly, blurred photographs were employed on the posters especially at the early stage of the campaign. Most of the photographs produced were hazy, as if the camera had been shaken when they were taken (see figure 3.1). The use of the blurred photograph became a distinctive feature in the early period of the campaign as Wakao Fujioka, PR director for Dentsū, in charge of organizing the entire campaign later revealed (Fujioka 1987: 17).

An important point in producing blurred photographs is that such a photographic technique hints at a new form of Japanese domestic tourism. While visiting *meisho*-like places and seeing beautiful scenery have continued to be a dominant cultural pattern as a tourist practice, blurred and hazy places depicted in the campaign posters emphasise the presence of the travelling subject. The blurring of the photographs helps to draw viewer’s attention to the travelling subject, rather than tourist landscapes and the result is that the viewers are more likely to focus on the tourist/s depicted in the posters. The production of blurred photographs enabled the

proposition of a new form of Japanese domestic tourism detached from traditional ideas of travelling in Japan. As discussed in chapter two, the most common practice of travelling in Edo period involved visiting *meisho* as beautiful spots and enjoying scenic beauty. However, the emergence of the blurred photographs as a means of tourism promotion indicates the change of the cultural meaning of travels and their relationship with landscapes. It transforms travels from the act of looking at beautiful and/or historic scenery into the act of looking at tourists themselves.

Secondly, the posters did not mention where the photographs were taken. The landscapes depicted in the posters were left anonymous and nameless. The posters never depicted any of the famous icons of Japanese nature, such as Mt Fuji, or familiar historical buildings such as temples and shrines present in the ancient capital Kyoto. There was no noticeable name or textual information about tourism sites in the posters at the early stage of the campaign while destination names and other travel information were added to posters and materials that were produced later. It was almost impossible to infer where the place in the poster was. This was not only because of the blurred and unfocused photographic technique employed but also because of the camera angle and the photographs' locations.

The first poster produced for the campaign was not a sharp image. It showed a girl sweeping fallen leaves while it did not depict any local people such as peasants. The salient object was a young female tourist herself. The actual location of the photograph was Nikko, one of the most famous modern tourism destinations in Japan. However, the way it was depicted, made it difficult for viewers to realize that the location was actually Nikko, and even harder to understand what the girl in the photo was doing. Figure 3.1 shows the second poster produced. Fujioka explained that 'this is the one showing an urban girl with a guitar on a cart full of dried grass, pulled by goat' (Fujioka 1987). Similarly to the previous poster, specific information that would have enabled viewers to identify the location was completely excluded. In addition, the interesting aspect here is that the guitar, as a western instrument, is arranged in the middle of the image and thus becomes a salient object (figure 3.1). Such a photographic technique can be observed in the production of contemporary

tourism posters, as I will show in chapter six. The analysis of the two posters makes clear that the *furusato*-like Japanese countryside is depicted as a nameless landscape for the post-war Japanese while foreign culture is made use to produce ‘the Japanese countryside’. This can be considered as ‘a break with the past marketing approach’ (Ivy 1995: 45) as well as with familiar tourism landscapes.

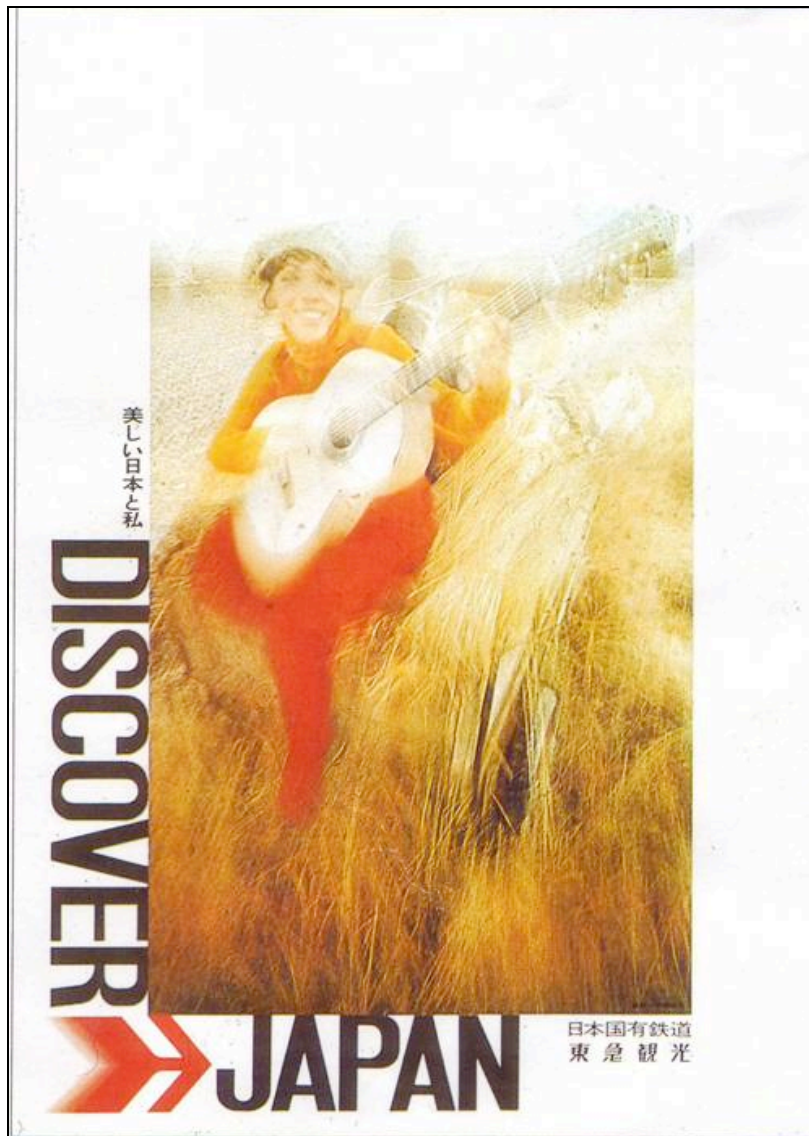


Figure 3.1: Second Poster in 'Discover Japan' (*All Works of Wakao Fujioka Vol. One*, 1987).

Tourism posters in general had shown ‘famous’, ‘well-known’, and ‘renowned’ scenery in tourism sites like *meisho* (famous places, see chapter two and five) places. However, the ‘Discover Japan’ campaign posters did not depict any renowned scenery or other conventional views as they had been employed in tourism posters. The following statement, regarding the campaign in an advertising journal, indicates the distinctive features of the campaign poster:

At first glance, we may think that the campaign posters depict very ordinary landscapes, however we find it excellent when looking at them carefully...although it was possible to realise that they were tourism posters. But, according to the standard images of the tourism posters, it was extremely rare for the tourism posters to depict such ordinary landscapes. First of all, they didn’t show place names. Even if they showed...the place names printed in the posters were very small...In other words, using the ordinary landscape in the tourism posters shows that the campaign posters did not show touristic scenery familiar to the Japanese. Panoramic views at Ōaso, excellent Mt. Fuji, Matsushima’s scenery, Clock Tower at Sapporo, and Cape of Shiretoko under the night of midnight sun didn’t appear at all.

(Ueda and Kawakami 1972: 26)

(Translation by the author)

In addition, Fujioka’s statement reveals that there was an intention to stay off the beaten track in terms of making tourism posters:

More or less, there had been clear styles for making tourism posters until then. The name of tourism sites such as Towada or Unzen had to be put noticeably in posters. Then, the beautiful landscape or postcard-like photograph was on the background. In short, for tourism posters, it was usual to produce destination posters with touristic scenes. We attempted to break through it.

(Fujioka 1987: 18)

(Translation by the author)

Clearly, the campaign rejected the use of ‘postcard-like’ landscapes for the tourism poster. Instead, Fujioka strategically constructed ‘anonymous’ and ‘ordinary’ landscapes. Unfocused photographs in the posters generated ‘*furusato*’ that provided comfort and nostalgia, and native places that relaxed the tired urbanites (Fujioka 1991). Consequently, the campaign achieved to generate new visual images of home villages/towns for the Japanese urbanites, characterised by their anonymousness rather than their uniqueness.

Moreover, the beautification of places played a key role in the success of the campaign. By avoiding painful and unpleasant things from the imaginative geographies of *furusato*, the campaign established good fantasy spaces shaped by dreams and realities. Yasui explains the power of the visual of '*furusato*' generated through the campaign as follows:

The '*furusato*' discovered here is not an unpleasant place that struggles with depopulation but a nostalgic place that reminds of something forgotten in urban life. Different from a real home village/town, it is a '*furusato*' where no actual family connection exists anymore.

(Yasui 1997: 213)
(Translation by the author)

She points out that the campaign succeeded in constructing '*furusato*'-like rural towns/villages while those who migrated to urban areas were often concerned about family connections left behind the rural area. The *furusato* here no longer links to any specific Japanese native places, offering urban dwellers an opportunity to experience and view beautified and visualised nostalgic places without being bothered about family connections. It is rather a visual and cultural artifact that delights and prompts urbanites to travel to the countryside seeing it as their own hometowns or *furusato*. Thus, it should be noted that the 'Discover Japan' campaign achieved a considerable success in generating a new visual imagery of *furusato*, or *furusato*-like places that represents an imaginary 'good old home village/town' in Japan. In other words, it is the visualisation of 'nameless' landscapes for the post-war Japanese through commercial photography production.

3.3 The Construction of a New Looking Subject

The emergence of a new travelling subject was another issue in the discovery of the Japanese countryside in post-industrial Japan. While the commercial photography produced imaginary and fantasy places associated with real places, mobile subjects also became objects to be visualised and experienced in advertising or photography. 'The photograph causes the viewer to, as it were, dream into it, causing it into subjectivised by the viewer's desires, memories and associations' (Osborne 2000:

77). By placing a mobile subject in the imagery, the campaign achieved to objectify and visualise a new subjectivity as a traveller/tourist while making nostalgic landscapes consisting of symbolic elements of 'Japanese nature' and 'traditional value of Japaneseness'. As Ivy argues in her detailed analysis of the 'Discover Japan' campaign, the campaign poster deliberately turned the tourists themselves into an object of photography (Ivy 1995: 88). Thus, it can be argued that the encounter with anonymous landscapes in the countryside equalled to the issue of the emergence of new looking subjects.

Today, Japanese tourism consumption is 'the domain of women' (Löfgren 1999: 101). While the political power and high-level positions in corporate hierarchy are still male-dominated in Japan, young women with more disposable income are considered one of the key target groups in the consumption of Japanese contemporary tourism and its culture (Clammer 1997: 144). Young unmarried women, who have time and money and generally contribute little to the household budget, are a conspicuous group of tourism consumers whereas, as Clammer points out, retired people constitute the key target group of domestic tourism marketing (1997: 144).

The analysis of the 'Discover Japan' campaign enables us to look at the ways with which the young urban woman entered the tourism marketing especially during the 1970s. By paying attention to Fujioka's marketing strategies, Ivy discusses the relationship between young Japanese women of the same period and travel as a device for female emancipation (Ivy 1995: 38). In Ivy's view, travel offered an opportunity to young Japanese women to get away from the control of their parents. In other words, the campaign deliberately used the desires of young women of the time in order to develop the domestic tourism market.

This discussion can be extended to the gendered nature in the social stratification of Japan. In Clammer's view, class consciousness in Japan appears low, and the social stratification is 'based on status competition which, in the case of everyday life, is heavily implicated in acts of consumption' (Clammer 1997: 4). Japanese

“‘class-consciousness’ is constructed principally around consumption which allows both symbolic competition and the sense of sharing common interests and a common future pursued through similar means, especially the acquisition of culture capital’ (Clammer 1997: 105). While political power in Japan is centred on the upper reaches of the corporate and bureaucratic hierarchy, the power of the middle class appeared in the act of consumption. One example of this is the practice of ‘internationalisation’ by the Japanese people. While the rhetoric of ‘internationalisation’ took place both at national and local levels, the practices of it appeared mostly through the act of consumption such as eating ethnic foods in restaurants or learning foreign languages (Clammer 1997). However, one aspect to be addressed here is that women have played a crucial role in the ‘consumption’ dimension of everyday life in contemporary Japan. As stated by Clammer: ‘it is Japanese men who, while possessing greater symbolic power, do not actually hold the real micro-power that controls everyday life and who, furthermore, are trapped into a lifestyle of long commuting journeys, long working days and very little leisure’ (1997: 5).

The presence of tourists, especially young female tourists in fashionable dresses was a typical feature in the poster production of the campaign. In the images that I will show in the chapter, there are always young women depicted in the posters, although their faces or figures are not clearly and easily recognizable. This eye-catching element of the poster is another alluring feature of the campaign. The campaign stressed that travelling to the countryside is a process of discovering a new self as a mobile subject. As the campaign’s subtitle ‘Beautiful Japan and Myself (*utsukushii nihon to watashi*)’ shows, the initial aim of the campaign, was to propose a new travelling subject, who was meant to discover and encounter new values that existed in the Japanese countryside or *furusato*-like places (Fujioka 1987).

Initially the campaign was going to be named ‘discover myself’, however, both English words ‘discover’ and ‘myself’ were not familiar to the Japanese of the time, so Fujioka and his colleges gave another name to the campaign, ‘Discover Japan’. In the organization of the campaign, Fujioka’s intention was not merely to urge young

women to travel to the countryside but also to make them rediscover ‘themselves’ or invent their new ‘self’ through travelling. The strategy that the campaign devised was to visualise the intersection between ‘the new’ and ‘the old’ (Ivy 1995, Katō 2000).

Figure 3.2 serves as a good example to unravel the concept that the campaign wanted to propose. We see two people whose appearances are totally different, crossing each other on a passage in the wood under the sunshine. The photograph was taken on a slope named Tsukimi-zaka, Chūsonji-temple in Hiraizumi, one of the most famous tourism destinations in Japan. Together with the headline of ‘Discover Japan’, the caption reads: ‘Travelling gives you more spiritual homes’. It depicts the interaction between the female young tourist that symbolises something ‘new’ or ‘contemporary’ and the monk that symbolises something ‘old’ or ‘traditional’ (Katō 2000).

The photographic representations that the campaign undertook are interesting; by placing the two opposite actors in the middle, the poster appeals to the tourist’s encounter with ‘the old’ (Ivy 1995, Katō 2000). Fujioka explained his idea of what the ‘Discover Japan’ campaign attempted to deliver in his book by quoting the poster of figure 3.2:

...[F]or example, the one at Tsukimi-zaka, Chūsonji-temple, the monk represents old and traditional ideas, the urban girl represents sensibility and modern ideas. The poster would depict rediscovery of ‘myself’ in the moment of an interaction of the old and the new.

(Fujioka 1987: 18)
(Translation by the author)



Figure 3.2: A young urban female tourist and a monk in 'Discover Japan' poster (*All Works of Wakao Fujioka Vol. 1*, 1987).

In addition, Ivy, in her analysis of 'Discover Japan', mentions with regard to the organisers of the photographic strategy to make the image saleable, 'to the planners, this poster [the first campaign poster] was a negation of advertising that merely enticed tourists to buy scenery without any discovery. Natural beauty in and of itself was not the issue; what was important was the encounter, the contact (*fureai*) between the quotidian and the nonordinary' (Ivy 1995: 43). Thus, it can be argued that the salient object in the poster is the young tourist's encounter with 'the old' or the interaction between her and the monk.

In addition, the campaign stressed the re-discovery of 'Japaneseness':

Apparently, we understood 'myself' in our 'Discover Myself' campaign as 'the Japanese mind'. It was neither to discover America or Europe, nor to discover Japan in America or Europe.

(Fujioka 1987: 47)

(Translation by the author)

The young female tourist in the photography is a primary advertising icon to promote the re-discovery of 'Japaneseness' to the audience suffering from a loss of cultural identity. The interesting thing here is that the idea of finding 'Japaneseness' is strongly linked with self-exotisation. As Ivy argues, increasing westernisation in post-war Japan turned 'Japaneseness' into something exotic (Ivy 1988). Art critic Isamu Kurita states,

No period has ever seen Japan so open to the outside than today, in terms of goods, information and way of life. Quite the contrary – the very international-ness of the life-style makes the traditional Japanese arts appear quite alien and exotic. We look at our tradition the way a foreigner does, and we are beginning to love it. It is the product of a search for something more "advanced" and more modish than what we have found in our century-long quest for new culture.

(Kurita 1983: 131)

The campaign turned 'Japaneseness' and 'tradition' into objects to be seen and consumed by the new mobile Japanese. Tourism generated a sort of new social practice that offered post-war Japanese an opportunity to encounter the new

‘Japanese countryside’ and ‘traditional values of Japan’ where one could discover a new ‘self’.

Figure 3.3 is another example showing how the campaign was obsessed with proposing new subjectivities. Similar to the posters discussed previously, this poster does not reveal its location and is left anonymous, although it seems to be somewhere inside a building. In fact, it is inside a temple in Ibaragi prefecture; the poster shows a girl sitting alone in the middle of the main hall of the temple. Contrary to figure 3.2, there are no local people, such as a monk, that seem to symbolise lost ‘Japanese values’. The interesting thing here is its caption printed on the side. It says: ‘I close my eyes... what shall I see?’, and it was produced by Fujioka himself. This caption tells us that the girl in the poster closes her eyes, and tries to look at something invisible, sitting all alone in the big space. The girl represents the tourist from urban areas, while the caption suggests to viewers to look inside them, rather than to see the outside world. Similarly to Fujioka, Shunichi Sasaki, Head of the Department of Passenger Services at JNR at the time, noted: “‘the Discover Japan campaign’ invites a tourist to have contacts with affluent nature, and discover another self harmonised with nature during their travels’ (Sasaki 1972: 57). Subsequently, the campaign and its posters offered the Japanese of the time an opportunity to look at or rediscover themselves through tourism experiences in the countryside. Ivy suggests that ‘discovery thus becomes an epistemological imperative, divorced from “nature or scenery or people”. What remains, simply, is myself (maiserufu), as both the desiring consumer-discoverer and the object of discovery, in a solipsistic internalization of the circuits of travel’ (Ivy 1995: 40). Fujioka later noted regarding the campaign concept:

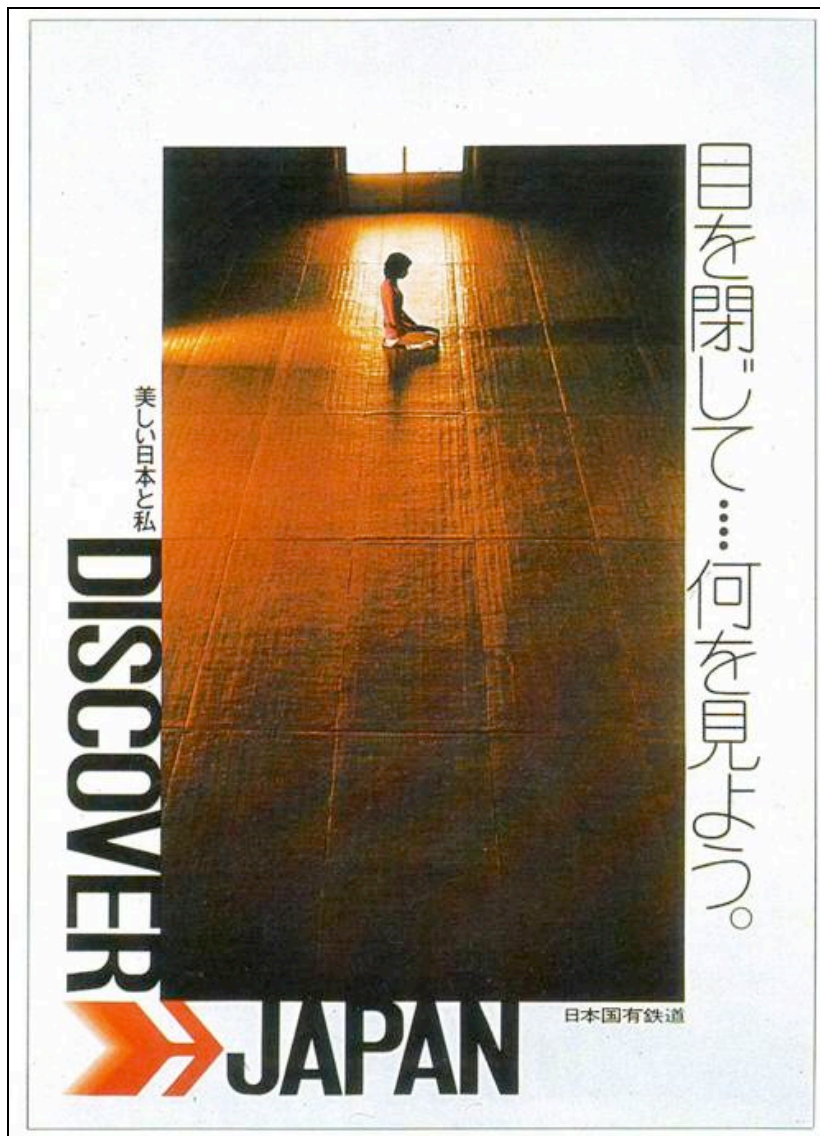


Figure 3.3: "I close my eyes... What shall I see?" in 'Discover Japan' poster (*All Works of Wakao Fujioka Vol. 1*, 1987).

For discovering, there is no need for nature or scenery or people. Discovery is really one's own self. "Discover myself", I said to myself. The self of travel, the discovery of myself, travelling through myself... "Discover myself" [*jisukabā maiserufu*] had become our campaign concept.

(Translated by Ivy 1995: 40)

The explicit function of the young tourist was to provoke a new mode of the mobile subject who does not see the outside world, i.e. landscapes. In this respect, not looking at the landscape in tourism sites and even local people is proposed as a kind of tourist experience that tourists might have.

In this sense, the nameless landscape becomes an important empowerment which travelling subjects use to discover themselves away from home. As Ivy indicates, a landscape which mobilises tourists is 'no longer an object passively viewed by the distanced observer; landscape itself takes on renewed subjective qualities, as the repository of *fureai*. Travel is an occasion – perhaps *the* occasion (italics in original)– for the rediscovery of the self, as landscapes become settings for haiku-like moments of encounter' (Ivy 1995: 44). The campaign promoted anonymous landscapes as tourist landscapes or settings of travelling to tourists' individualised self. In other words, tourist landscapes turned into a stage to perform tourists' selected behaviours and consumption.

3.4 Practices of the Japanese Countryside

The next question is: how is the Japanese countryside meant to be consumed by a new form of subjectivity as a mobile subject? While the campaign poster provoked the nostalgia and longing of the mobile Japanese of the 1970s through visual images, two fashion magazines for young women were published; the first one is *an-an* (March in 1970), published as a Japanese edition of ELLE in France by Magazine House (former Heibon Shuppan), and the second is *non·no* (May in 1971), published by Shūeisha. Although by the 1970s several other magazines targeting young females had already been issued, these two specific magazines played a pioneering

role in burgeoning the fashion magazine market for young females from the 1970s onwards (Nanba 2007). The 1970s was marked as the beginning of a new popular culture in Japan (Koide 1992 cited in Tanaka 1998: 111). Tanaka traces a brief history of Japanese women's magazines throughout the 20th century and describes that magazines that appeared in Japan in the 1970s were characterised by the extensive use of European languages and an emerging interest not only in fashion but also in tourism and food (Tanaka 1998: 111).

Both magazines have been featuring domestic tourism in Japan in each issue from autumn 1972 until May 1978 and June 1980 respectively. More importantly, the schemas of tourism topics of both *an-an* and *non-no* corresponded to the campaign's conception. Fujioka himself has pointed out the importance of *an-an* and *non-no*'s travel articles in the 1970s in the campaign's success (Fujioka 1987, 2005).

Magazines and the mass media in general are still powerful tools in structuring consumption activities in Japan. There is a vast magazine market and most magazines contain huge amounts of information and images. Nancy Rosenberger provides an analysis of how home magazines and housing companies in Japan produce and nurture Japanese consumers freed from the restraint of hierarchical households through the westernisation of home decorating (Rosenberger 1992). She focuses on the role of magazines that guide consumer choices in contemporary Japan by examining the rhetoric of how to decorate a home in the 'western style'. Thus, the close relationship between magazine culture and consumption activities can be a useful tool in exploring the social practices associated with consumption behaviour.

The appearance of the two magazines mentioned earlier helped fostering practices of tourism experiences and the consumption of an anonymous Japanese countryside by new female subjects. Therefore, it is useful to analyse the tourism discourses produced by those magazines in order to explore how the people of the time consumed and experienced the ordinary landscape discovered by the campaign.

The readers of *an-an* and *non-no* were called ‘An-Non Tribe’ (*An-Non zoku*) in the 1970s; the term refers to those who travel around the countryside, or small and old villages/towns of Japan, holding *an-an* or *non-no* featuring domestic tourism sites. They are said to have learned all about how to travel from these two magazines. This resulted in a number of young tourists’ visits to shops and restaurants in the small and old villages/towns that the magazines introduced (Mori 2007). Their travel practices corresponded closely to what *an-an* or *non-no* suggested in their articles. Kōji Nanba suggests that An-Non Tribe is one of the youth subcultures that appeared after post-war Japan (Nanba 2007). For the An-Non Tribe, the mass media were an important ‘textbook’ that taught them how to travel, behave and feel during their travels. In other words, the tourism practice of An-Non Tribe was entirely formed by mass media.

With regards to the contents of the travel articles in *an-an* and *non-no*, there are several characteristics to be addressed. Harada summarised them as follows (Harada 1984); firstly, the domestic tourism that *an-an* and *non-no* proposed can be divided into three groups: travel to visit traditional Japanese values, travel to have contact with nature, and travel to experience foreignness. In particular, the most frequent travel type was to visit traditional Japanese values, and Kyoto was the most frequent site to be introduced, followed by Hokkaidō, Nara, Kamakura, Kanazawa, and Kobe (Harada 1984). The three kinds of travels offered young women a new mode of tourist practices in terms of consumption of experiences, places and its images.

Secondly, similarly to the posters of the ‘Discover Japan’, the appearance of tourists and, often, local people can be found in the photographs. The following two photographs were part of travel articles from *an-an* featuring domestic tourism. Figure 3.4 is from *an-an* depicting a young woman walking with a local old lady in front of an old house. Figure 3.5 shows a trip to Kyōto. One young woman is standing and looking at a geisha girl in front of a ‘traditional’ Japanese style residence in downtown Kyoto. It is clear that in these two photographs both the young girls and the local people constitute essential elements of the images.



Figure 3.4: Young tourist with local lady in *an·an*. No.60, 1972.



Figure 3.5: Young tourist in Kyoto in *an·an*. No.60, 1972.

Thirdly, the descriptions within the articles are an important point in analysing a distinctive feature of the representation of the An-Non Tribe practices. Captions or texts often played an important role in evoking strong feelings attached to the pictured place in *an-an* and *non-no* (Harada 1984). In terms of the writing style used in the articles, most of the articles applied a monologue-style to the text that provided ‘personal travel experiences’ (Harada 1984) rather than general travel information such as places names, transportation and accommodation.

The following article (figures 3.6 and 3.7.) is an example of ‘travel to have contact with nature’ from *an-an*, which featured Kiyosato, a known highland resort located in Yamanashi prefecture. Kiyosato offered to the tourists a ‘nature experience’ such as walking in the woods. However, this *an-an*’s article provides a different picture of tourist experiences in Kiyosato. The article is composed of seven photographs with single-sentenced captions and text including several subtitles. The article devotes more than half of its pages to photography. As we can see, most of the photographs contain one young woman model that looks like a tourist from an urban area, and local people at a farm. The salient object in each photograph is the model in her fashionable clothes. Furthermore, a variety of activities that tourists could experience at the farm, such as gathering dried plants, milking cows and seeing a calf, are shown. Interestingly, there is no photograph showing panoramic views of Kiyosato while most of the pictures concentrate on showing the model’s contact with ‘nature’. The article offers readers an opportunity to imagine how and which kinds of activities young women could experience and enjoy in Kiyosato.

The text of the article is written in the first person and similarly to the photographs most of the descriptions are concerned with what the young woman in the photos experienced and felt during the stay. In the rhetoric of the article the text producer or narrator is clearly identified with the model in the photographs.

The experiences of the encounter with nature in the country farm are described as if it were a personal travel story. The following quotation is a description about when the narrator saw the cow giving birth:

We rushed into the Agriculture Centre to see Jersey's childbirth. The contraction had already started. Stroking her back, one of the trainees from the centre stuck with her. ... After 10 minutes, the calf's legs appeared!! All of us pulled out the legs....

(*an-an*, 1972, No.47)
(Translated by the author)

Then, the narrator described how the calf tried to stand up again and again. Finally, at the end of the article:

As I put in my hands to the calf, s/he lapped up my hands. You are hungry, aren't you? –The weather in mountains is unpredictable, we suddenly got foggy, and then heavy rain. A big rainbow appeared on the sky of the North after the rain stopped in five minutes.

(*an-an*, 1972, No.47)
(Translated by the author)

The way written texts in advertisements work as forms of discourse is an important issue in the communication process. One aspect to think about is who is initiating the communication and who it is addressed to. Advertisements 'are not aimed at a single private reader in the way,...On the other hand, they are certainly not completely aimless, without a notion of audience' (Goddard 1998: 30).

Inspired by literary criticism, Angela Goddard makes a clear distinction between the writer of the text and the narrator of it in written advertisements:

The writer is the persona who constructs the text in reality; the narrator is the storyteller within the text – the person who appears to be addressing us, and guiding us through the narrative. This distinction can be illustrated by examples such as a female writer who constructs a male narrator, or an adult writer whose narrator is a child.

(Goddard 1998: 28-29)

While the real writer produces the captions and descriptions of advertisements, the narrators constructed by the writer convey to us the message of the advertisement. Returning to *an-an*'s articles, the texts are written in the first person by using the 'I' pronoun, as if the model (narrator) is telling her individual experiences in Kiyosato.

The use of the first person generates powerful effects; it produces a more personal and closer ‘travel story’ while the use of the third person produces a more detached and distant relationship with the readers. The first person enables readers to have a feeling that someone talks about her/his travel experiences personally to her/his close friend, and spontaneously to get involved in the story created in the articles. The articles convey to the readers how to feel and experience your travel in the Japanese countryside while travel guides normally provide general travel information.

Even though the article does not explicitly address its readership, the potential readership or audience is understood as young female Japanese. The appearance of the female model in the photographs suggests that the model should be perceived as a potential future young female tourist. In addition, the text in the article is written in colloquial language generally used by Japanese young women. Although it is not certain if all of the readers would match with that profile, it is not difficult for young women readers of *an-an* to replace the model with themselves while reading the articles.

In terms of the structure of this travel narrative, it is clear that the description of the ordinary landscape here tries to represent the traveler’s feeling that emerged from her experience in relation to the cow’s childbirth. It can be said that this last sentence of the article on Kiyosato describes the imaginary landscape of ‘her experience’. Obviously, the scene described and featured by the narrator is not the famous tourism site but the ‘ordinary’ landscape that ‘she’ gained after having a unique experience with the calf. Such a travel narrative reveals the ways in which nameless landscapes in the countryside are practiced by the new looking subject and transformed into a stage to create personalised tourist experiences.



Figure 3.6: Kiyosato (page left) in *an·an*. 1972, No.47.



Figure 3.7: Kiyosato (page right) in *an-an*. 1972, No.47.

The ‘Discover Japan’ campaign was strongly dependent on the power of visual images as Fujioka himself states (Fujioka 1987). A variety of visual images such as posters and TV commercials were produced and distributed widely from inside trains to train stations as well as advertisements in magazines and newspapers and a huge attempt was made to spread the word ‘Discover Japan’ and its visual images (Sasaki 1972). The countryside and even famous destinations were deliberately transformed by the mass media into anonymous and nameless places where one can find ‘lost Japaneseness’.

In the decades following the Second World War, rural towns and villages were seen as places to be modernised and developed. William Kelly states that ‘the countryside was denigrated as the bastion of residual semi-feudal elements and superstitious custom. It was a crude “hicksville” (*inaka*), populated by toiling bumpkins (*hyakushō*), enduring the authoritarian patriarchs (*kahuchō*) of their families’ (Kelly 1986: 606). Nakamura also argues that public policies towards farming areas in post-war Japan aimed at rationalising and improving life in the Japanese countryside (Nakamura 2007). Customs, everyday routines and the living environments of the Japanese countryside were viewed as undeveloped (Nakamura 2007). However, the ‘Discover Japan’ campaign successfully shifted the way of seeing the Japanese countryside – from a place to be improved to a place where Japanese authenticity remains. I will return to the parallel narratives with regards to the Japanese countryside in chapter five.

The visual inscription of nature and tradition was a reflection of a nostalgic sense of lost ‘Japaneseness’ that the late modern Japanese pursued. The power of the visual rhetoric in the campaign can be understood through the idea of ‘de-familiarisation.’ In her analysis of Mexican contemporary photography, literary theorist Marina Perez de Mendiola discusses the way in which contemporary photographers undermined the stereotyped figures of Mexican indigenous people (2004: 139). She points out that these artists practice an ‘aesthetics that produces strangeness, using images that defamiliarize,’ (2004: 139) and that their photographic practices reflect on the theories of Russian artist Viktor Shklovsky who suggested: ‘art exists to help

us to recover the sensation of life, to make the stone stony. The end of art is to give the sensation of the object as seen, not as recognized. The technique of art is to make things unfamiliar, to make forms obscure, so as to increase the difficulty and the duration of perception' (cited in Mendiola 2004: 139). Simon Watney explains this photographic defamiliarisation as:

[T]he theory of defamiliarisation possesses a powerful ideology, a set of tacit assumptions about the relationship between art and society. It implies above all that social contradictions can be made immediately and universally accessible to the eye, simply by means of visual surprise.

(cited in Mendiola 2004: 139)

The case study of the 'Discover Japan' campaign illustrates that the de-familiarisation revolved around the juxtaposition of two different cultural values. In chapter two I showed that the discovery of Japanese landscapes in the early modern period of Japan was underpinned by a re-contextualisation of conventional values of nature. According to Katō, one of the similarities between the two 'discoveries' of landscapes is the ways in which *On Japanese Landscape* and the 'Discover Japan' campaign displayed new landscapes to the Japanese public of the time (Katō 2000). The juxtaposition of the two different values on visual and textual representations exposes the tension between the old and new, or past and present. The representational strategies of juxtaposing two different values – the conventional and western landscape painting in *On Japanese Landscape*, the monk as traditional value and the young tourist as modern value in the campaign – help produce the tension between two different cultural values. It resulted in evoking a shift in the meanings of 'Japanese landscapes' and in the disposition of the modern looking subjects.

The visualisation of anonymous landscapes brought Japanese not only to discover a Japanese landscape but also to construct a new subjectivity that did not gaze upon the outside world. Instead of showing postcard-like landscapes in tourism sites, photographs were composed of tourists and 'local people' as essential elements of tourism posters. The combination of young women and local people in a destination is understood as a significant interaction that may happen during travels. This

strategy made it possible for the viewers to imagine themselves physically in the photograph, and it guided 'the reader's fantasies and make them seem realisable: this could be me!' (Larsen 2004: 83).

There was a shift in the travelling subject from the female traveller to the generic in the second phrase of the campaign (Ivy 1995: 45). 'Self-discovery', the campaign's core concept, was played out not only by young urban women but also Everyman (Ivy 1995). Nelson Graburn argues that after the 'Discover Japan' and subsequent 'Exotic Japan' campaigns the Japanese countryside was replaced by 'a multiplicity of socially constructed *furusatos*' (Graburn 2008: 185). According to Graburn, the Japanese countryside turned into to 'a place to explore, just like a foreign country, according to multitudes of promotional television programs' (2008: 185). Rural villages and towns are shaped and re-shaped by multiple tourist imaginaries and desires. Asuke which this thesis focuses on is considered as one of the Japanese rural towns where particular tourist imaginaries are inscribed.

There is a significant difference between the discovery of Japanese natural beauty in the early modern period (chapter two) and the Japanese countryside which I have discussed in this chapter: the positionality of the looking subjects. In the case of the discovery of Japanese nature in chapter two, alpine beauty was introduced and received by early modern Japanese through Shiga's eclectic mixture of two different discourses and the introduction of mountaineering practices together with the downward gaze and a new sensibility. The act of gazing at alpine beauty was a constitutive part of the formation of the emergent modern subject. Meanwhile, the discovery of the Japanese countryside which occurred in late modern Japan formed subjects who discovered themselves in the practice of nameless landscapes constructed by the mass media. It can be said that a critical aspect of the looking subject that 'Discover Japan' provided is the shift of the role of the beholder – from the subject to see to the subject to be seen. The late modern subject desires to look and simultaneously s/he desires to be looked at.

Such shifting positionality of the viewer characterises the formation and practices of

contemporary Japanese landscapes as shaped by travelling practices. While the looking subject in early modern Japan discovered new sensibilities that celebrate Japanese nature, what the late modern looking subject discovered is her/himself to be gazed as a travelling subject. Rather than searching for famous and well-known views or scenery, her/his aim is to display their bodies dressed in fashionable clothes and to discover themselves as Japanese. Social relations between the gazer and the gazed are articulated through landscape experiences and travelling practices. I will look into this through my empirical study of formations and practices of contemporary tourist landscapes in chapters six and seven.

By placing tourists and local people in the tourism poster, the tourists found a beautiful nameless stage to discover themselves, as individuals who gaze and have contact with 'traditional values' and 'nature'. Simultaneously, the tourist gaze shifts between the tourists themselves and the Japanese countryside as landscape. In this context, the landscape became an essential stage for tourists to display and perform their own selected consumption style and behaviour often constructed by the mass media.

Another consideration here is that the mass media deliberately implied that the nameless landscapes were also created by the tourists themselves through their own tourist experiences. As the example of Kiyosato in *an-an* showed, 'ordinary' scenery can be a proper stage to produce personalised tourist experiences. The example of the popular fashion magazine offered future tourists an opportunity to learn practices of landscapes as part of consumption (Löfgren 1999). In this sense, the mass media became a powerful tool in teaching 'how to be a tourist'.

The final point that I want to consider is that despite the changes, the traditional and conventional landscapes were not completely replaced by the newly discovered landscapes. Rather, there is a coexistence of multiple Japanese landscapes that emerge in front of the spectator. The reception of new ways of seeing involves an extending territory where one could acquire new ways of seeing through the process of de-familiarisation of the familiar. This may be seen as the process of

self-discovery or ‘a change in consciousness’ (Gabriel 2002: 164). The changing forms of representations of modern landscapes reflect a transformation of cultural values, desires, expectations and creativity brought to life by people. The Japanese way of seeing may be regarded as multiple, endlessly extending outwards by de-familiarising and objectifying the familiar while creating new subjectivities. French cultural geographer Augustin Berque also points out that aesthetics of Japanese landscapes or Japanese way of seeing are characterised by their enduring process of generating new ways of seeing concomitantly with shifting positionalities of the looking subject (Berque 1990). What may be more significant in the case of the Japanese landscape is the history of discovering new ways of seeing as the never ending process of de-centring constructed visibility, which always parallels the formation and the practice of new subjectivities.

Conclusion

This chapter considered the contemporary formations and practices of tourist landscapes that revolved around domestic tourism, commercial photography and a sense of nostalgia in post-war Japan. I attempted to elucidate the discovery of the ‘Japanese countryside’ driven by an influential advertising company and the mass media in post-war Japan. While chapter two has shown the important role of social elites in the introduction of a new aesthetic conception to the Japanese public, chapter three revealed that tourism related industries – one advertising company and fashion magazines – acted as strong vehicles for producing and popularising new ways of seeing ‘the Japanese countryside’ as well as mobilising urban dwellers. I have shown that the discovery of new landscapes was tied up with visually inscribing a sense of nostalgia into places. This process is understood as the construction of a new looking subject through tourism consumption practices. I have also discussed a shift in the role of the viewing subject – from the subject to gaze to the subject to be gazed.

While the visual production of tourist places by modern advertising is highly imaginative, it also produces a strong power to mobilise the post-war Japanese to the

countryside. Their visual rhetoric of tourism posters was strong. The exclusion and displacement of 'reality' and the creation of spatial fictions paralleled the formation of seduced images as tourist places and desiring looking subjects as consumers. The campaign also produced the mobile subject who could acquire a new way of seeing the Japanese countryside. A young female tourist was used as an icon to deliver a 'proper' way of consuming the Japanese countryside associated with 'Japaneseness' or 'Japanese nature'. It is a process of self-exotisation based on the idea of leaving home in search of new landscapes, experiences and sensibilities under the effect of increasing westernisation in post-war Japan.

The last part of the chapter showed that the mass media helped producing and constituting visual consumption of tourism. I analysed one influential fashion magazine featuring domestic tourism that shared the idea of 'Discover Japan'. The role of the magazine as such was crucial in putting the tourist practices of photography as fashion and transforming landscapes into stages for performing selected consumption styles and behaviours. By transforming tourist landscapes into a stage for contemporary tourists, the role of the travelling subject oscillates between the gazer and the gazed. Finally, I also argued that the reproduction of Japanese way of seeing needs to be considered as an ever-changing process of de-familiarising the familiar and de-centring constructed looking subjects.

I have examined the ways in which a new consciousness of countryside as Japanese landscape was popularised through a massive modern tourism campaign. The discussions in chapters two and three revealed the presence and crucial role of powerful individuals and/or social groups (i.e. Shiga and Kojima in chapter two and Fujioka at the largest advertising company and fashion magazines) in each historical period in discovering new 'Japanese landscapes'. In the remaining part of my thesis, I turn my attention to the role of the local community and local tourism authority in the formation and the practices of tourist landscapes in contemporary Japan based on my empirical case study of Asuke. Before coming to that, however, I will explain, in the next chapter, how and why I chose Asuke as my case study site for the formation and practices of tourist landscape in contemporary Japan.

Chapter Four

Framing Research Methodology in Asuke

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss ways to investigate the formation and the practices of tourist landscapes that reflect the profound societal changes in contemporary Japan. I start by justifying my choice of Asuke, a central area of Japan, as my case study. I will do so by discussing the historical and geographical conditions that made Asuke a modern destination as well as the practical reasons behind the data collection. I build my case around the modernity of Asuke as a tourist place, which helps construct its fame and attract contemporary Japanese tourists who help to ‘reproduce’ tourist landscapes. I then present my research methods for this project and explain why these particular research methods – visual ethnography and interviews – were the most suitable and relevant for the purposes of this study. Furthermore, I provide information with regards to the processes and procedures of data collection in my fieldwork. Finally, I discuss the issues that I encountered during the post fieldwork phase. In particular, I explain the creative tension that emerged during both my fieldwork and the writing process.

4.1 Justification of Study

Located in the north-east of Aichi Prefecture, central Japan, Asuke is one of the most popular one-day destinations with a distinctive natural and historical landscape

in the Chūkyō Metropolitan Area³⁰ which includes several major cities, such as the two million of Nagoya. It is a rural ‘town’ in a mountain area, called *Asuke-chō*, literally Asuke-town and has belonged to Toyota-city since 2005. Its population was almost 9,000 in August 2009 and the town covers almost 193km², 86.5% of which is forest. Most of the tourist attractions are situated in the town centre and a valley called Kōrankei (figure 4.1).

Kōrankei, where famous natural landscapes are situated, covers a small valley through which the Tomoe River flows while Mt. Iimori is located in the east side of the river. In addition to the natural features, a range of tourist facilities, an old temple called Kōjakuji, an open-air folklore museum with several restaurants, cafes and shops are located in the inner area of Kōrankei (figure 4.1). There is one path from Route 153 alongside the river leading to the Kōjakuji temple and the museum. Around 30 or 40 minutes is enough time to walk within Kōrankei unless one stops to look around the museum and have meals in the restaurants. While the town centre and Kōrankei are located alongside Route 153, there are 64 hamlets within the town which lie at an altitude between 100 and 700m above sea level.

The scale of present-day tourism in Asuke – 1,296,485 visitors in 2007 (Aichi Department of Industry and Labour 2007)³¹ – shows its popularity as a destination. Despite its rural location, Asuke is not a faraway place for tourists from the Chūkyō Metropolitan Area. Thanks to the improvement in road links over the past few decades, it is only a one/one and a half hour car journey from most major regional cities to Asuke. In fact, cars are the most popular transportation device for tourists coming to Asuke due to the lack of convenient train networks between the large city centres of the Chūkyō Metropolitan Area and Asuke. In addition to private car journeys, tour buses also bring numerous visitors to Asuke. This trend to take car journeys to Asuke resulted in the improvement and expansion of parking space for tourist arrivals. In order to cope with the increasing numbers of tourists travelling by

³⁰ Cyūkyō Metropolitan Area centred in Nagoya-city is the third biggest metropolitan area in Japan, following Tokyo and Hanshin (Osaka) metropolitan areas.

³¹ Tourist arrival to Kōrankei has exceeded 1,000,000 visitors every year since 1989 (Asuke Tourism Association 2005)

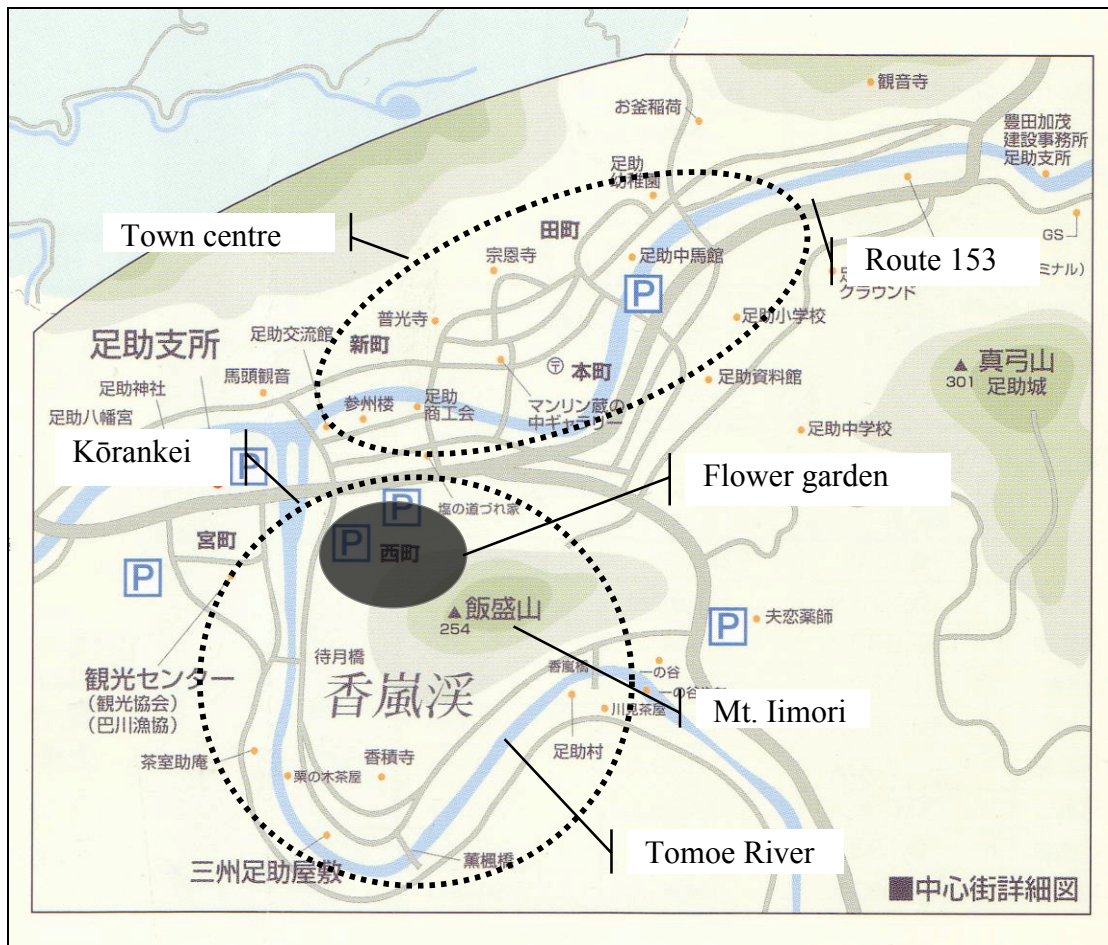


Figure 4.1: Map of Asuke Town Centre and Kōrankei (redrawn from the map in a directory of the Town of Asuke).

car, the first public parking space was established in 1957 and currently there are seven public parking spaces for tourists in the town. Improved mobility and accessibility by cars and the development of parking space facilitated mass visiting to Asuke.

Already by the 20th century Asuke had a long history as a post station (*shukuba-machi*) where accommodation, cafes, shops and other services for travellers were provided. Adjacent to the Chūma Highway (*Chūma-kaidō*), Asuke had developed as a post station throughout the Warring States (*Sengoku* period, 15th-16th century) and Edo period (17th-19th century). Tyūma Highway (also called Ina Highway) was a trading route identified as the current Route 153 which connects Nagoya city (on the Pacific side) and Shiojiri city (on the inner side of central Japan). A variety of daily goods such as rice, tobacco, salt and other local goods were transported between the regions by merchants with horses until the railroad system was established. The Chūma Highway was also called Zenkōji Highway (*Zenkōji-kaidō*) because the route was used for pilgrimage to the Zenkōji temple located in the inner side of central Japan. Thus, from the Warring States through to the Edo period, Asuke developed as a post station for travellers while the town played an important role as a ‘commercial centre’ for neighbourhood farming and mountain villages.

The modernisation that took place in the late 19th century rapidly brought considerable changes to Asuke. After the Meiji government abolished the travel restrictions of the Edo period, Asuke absorbed more visitors than before because of the prosperity of the Chūma Highway that lasted until the beginning of the 20th century. For instance, historical documents in Ibo village (present, Ibo-town in Toyota-city, Aichi Prefecture) concerning travellers show that there were 1,582 visitors to Asuke between 1891 and 1892 while only 1,163 visitors to Nagoya-city (Asuke Tourism Association 1996: 57).

However, the establishment of the Chūō line from Tokyo to Nagoya-city via Shiojiri-city by the former Japanese national railway in 1907 had a huge impact on

Asuke and forced the town to change its role as the hub of the transportation network in the mountain areas. Before the establishment of the railroad system most daily goods, salts and fuels such as charcoal and firewood were carried by horses. However, when the railroad replaced travelling by horse Asuke lost its role as a transportation hub although it retained its role as a shopping town for the neighbourhood villages and towns.

Since the town did not have a main industry that fitted in with the modernisation and industrialisation, Asuke turned to tourism as a means to develop. Although Asuke is said to have attracted holiday makers to view red autumn leaves at the Kōjakuji-temple in the late Meiji period (Asuke Chōshi Hensan Linkai 1975: 798), the town needed to have more attractions to draw tourists' attention. Rinuemon Fukami, the town mayor of Asuke at the time, proposed the development of the area surrounding Mt. Iimori as a natural park. He proposed that, through the natural environment of Asuke, tourism could become the main industry for the maintenance and development of the town. Thus, the significant turn towards becoming a modern destination was taken by the local authority of the 1920s resulting in the active engagement of the local community in the production of natural and cultural tourism attractions to survive under the condition of rapid modernisation.

Table 4.1 illustrates how the local community attempted to transform Asuke's natural surroundings as an attractive tourist destination. The activities the local community undertook were directed towards the creation of a 'more attractive' natural scenery for tourists. The natural surroundings around Kōjakuji-temple were rebuilt to afford a 'beautiful natural scenery' by planting certain kinds of seedlings such as maple trees and Japanese cherries.

Table 4.1 List of the planting activities and other tourism development activities

Date	Activities
1923	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of ‘Development of Scenery’ section in the youth organization - Planting almost 1000 seedlings of maple trees and Japanese cherries on both sides of Tomoe River by the youth organization and local veterans’ association - Establishment of Tomoe Bridge, rest stations and paths on the both side of Tomoe River
1924	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of paths on Mt. Imori with the assistance of the local veterans’ association
1925	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of night lighting on Mt. Imori by the town
1934	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complementary planting (maple trees) at Kōrankei: First planting activities by local residents
1937	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complementary planting (maple trees) at Kōrankei: Second planting activities by local residents
1941	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cessation of development activities due to the war

(Created by the author)

As the table shows, several planting activities were undertaken by the local residents to add a large number of seedlings that would change the featured scenery of Mt. Imori. It can even be argued that the natural surroundings of the Kōjakuji-temple were altered by repeated planting activities. The empowerment of the local communities in the production of tourist space and landscape is what particularly interests me in this thesis. The engagement of the local community in tourism development was a result of Asuke’s lack of any major industries and the need to depend on visitors for their survival. Asuke’s tourism development in this period illustrates how the tourist landscape can be constructed – at least physically – through local community activities. As a result, the foundation of Asuke’s post-war tourism development is strongly connected to the creation of landscape-oriented tourism space.

Given the historical and geographical contexts of the town and its development under conditions of rapid and drastic modernisation and industrialisation in Japan, Asuke serves as representative of modern tourist places in Japan. The improvement of accessibility and mobility, the product of modernisation, reduced travel time and as a result, it brought mass visiting to Asuke. Apart from that, a case study focusing on Asuke offers a particularly valuable field for considering the relationship between the local community and the formation of modern tourist landscapes. The establishment of the spirit of community-based tourism development in the early stage of modernisation is strongly linked to the material and cultural construction of tourist landscapes and Asuke's fame. The rural revitalisation and town-making activities that began in the 1970s in Japan were strongly connected with a community-based movement and tourism development as I will discuss in chapters five and six. A case study concentrating on Asuke could provide useful and significant insights for cultivating understandings of the formation and the practice of tourist landscapes in contemporary Japan, highlighting in particular the crucial role of local residents and the local tourism authority.

The analysis of the Niagara Falls by Rob Shields reveals how a variety of discourses and images help construct place-myths associated with specific locations (Shields 1991). The three basic images of the Falls are a 'Shrine of Nature', an 'Industrial Powerhouse' and 'Attractions and Spectacles' and each image works in accordance with local interests (Shields 1991). The Niagara Falls' place-image is created through the coalition of the contradictory discourses and as a result a multi-faceted image of the Falls is constructed. Similarly, Asuke's popular image seems to revolve around multiple changing images: Kōrankei as a sign of 'beautiful nature' and the town centre as a sign of 'history'. Since Asuke turned into a modern tourism destination in the early 20th century, a range of objectifications to develop natural and historical surroundings were made to attract visitors.

The diversity of the natural scenery and enjoyment of viewing nature mean that Kōrankei is often introduced as a *meisho* (famous place/spot) for red autumn leaves

in the Chūkyō Metropolitan Area. The contemporary popularity of Asume tourism is hugely indebted to the distinctiveness of its natural landscapes rather than its easy accessibility. Kōrankei is the most popular and central attraction in Asume's tourism. Figure 4.2 is a cover page image of an official tourist pamphlet produced by the Asume Tourist Association. The natural landscapes depicted there (photograph 1 in figure 4.2) are sceneries of Kōrankei and the Tomoe River in autumn. The changing colours of the maple leaves in Kōrankei attract a large number of tourists —with November and December being the two busiest periods. As the monthly distribution of tourist arrivals to Kōrankei shows, the current number of visitors (624,883) to Kōrankei in November, when one can enjoy the fall foliage, accounts for almost 50% of the area's annual tourists.

Furthermore, another major attraction in Asume is its historical landscapes consisting of pre-modern and early modern style buildings in the middle of the town centre (figure 4.3). Asume's reputation as a historical town is based on the town-making activities that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s. Most historical townscapes in Asume introduced by contemporary travel guides are found in its town centre. Edo-style houses built in the late Edo Period (around 1804-30) remain in the town centre although there are a few early modern style buildings (from the late 19th century to the 1920s). These old buildings and their façades constitute pre-industrial townscapes in the high street. Alongside the old streets, there are cafes, restaurants, shops selling souvenirs, food, and confectioneries for both tourists and local residents within the town centre. It is almost a 10 minute walk from Kōrankei to the town centre, and almost two kilometres of townscape that display pre-industrial or Edo period scenery are located across several small districts in the town centre.



Figure 4.2: Official tourist pamphlet (front side) produced by the Asuke Tourism Association (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).
 Photograph 1: Kōrankei and Tomoe River.



Figure 4.3: Official tourist pamphlet (back side) produced by the Asume Tourism Association (reproduced with the permission of the Asume Tourism Association). Photograph 1- 4: Historical Townscapes and Buildings.

Asuke as a tourist place typically presents itself as a landscape-oriented site. With its 'history' and 'nature' constructed materially and visually, the multiple faces of Asuke have mobilised modern tourists and seduced their eyes. Studying Asuke therefore, enables us to unfold the convergence of the multiplicity of production, consumption and interpretation of tourist landscapes in modern Japan.

The purchase of local delicacies and souvenirs has partially characterised Japanese tourism behaviour and practices (Nitta 1992, Clammer 1997). John Clammer states that one of the distinctive features of travel guidebooks for Japanese is their obsession with consumption and 'advice on eating and shopping' (1997: 143). My main concern here is how the visual depiction or the use of photography involves the construction of tourist imaginaries and experiences in a site. The visual culture of tourism consumption constitutes an important part in the process of making place-myths in Japan. For instance, photographs of iconic views, local products or souvenirs are an essential element in contemporary travel guides and magazines. Thus it is necessary to take into account the practices linked with visual consumption in order to fully understand the culture of Japanese tourism.

The natural landscape of red autumn leaves in autumn underpins the popularity and uniqueness of Kōrankei in the context of viewing nature in Japan. The seasonal viewing of nature is an important factor motivating Japanese domestic tourism. As I will discuss in more detail in chapter seven, Sepp Linhart argues that the cult of the seasons is a useful element in the analysis of Japanese leisure activities (Linhart 1998). It involves viewing nature activities, such as the cherry/plum blossom viewing in spring and moon viewing in autumn, which often have a long history as cultural activities in Japan (see Ohnuki-Tierney 1998 for cherry blossom viewing). Returning to Asuke, the seasonal viewing of nature is the major force attracting tourists to Kōrankei. It is therefore essential to be aware of the relationship between the construction of natural landscapes and seasonal viewing of nature as cultural practices among Japanese.

In addition, walking around the historical townscape in the town centre also seems a very common tourist activity in Asuke. Most of the latest travel guidebooks offer

walking routes and timetables as well as information on tourism facilities and local delicacies, enabling tourists to see and walk the main attractions of Asoke on time. These contemporary guidebooks also contain a number of photographs of the 'must-see' scenery, buildings, food and souvenirs with short, but detailed descriptions for each photograph.

The position of the camera which determines the perspective of a photograph in the representation of the tourist place is of particular interest. For instance, in contemporary travel guides and magazines introducing Asoke, a number of images are photographed with lower angle and closeup views resembling the pedestrian's perspective while there are few images consisting of a bird's-eye view composition. These photographs seem to provide readers with the virtual visual experience as if they were actually walking in the site. In other words, this lower perspective to look at objects generates virtual views of walking experiences in Asoke. The guide books provide imaginative walking experiences and views through photography and descriptions. Thus, the act of walking helps to form tourist imaginaries and experiences through visual culture on Asoke's contemporary tourism. In this way, tourist imaginaries of contemporary landscapes in Asoke are underpinned by multiple dimensions: representations, discourses and practices. Therefore, researching Asoke and its landscape practices has the strong potential of providing evidence with regards to the relationship between practice and experience, and material and cultural constructions of landscapes in modern Japan.

Finally, there are several other reasons behind my choice of Asoke as a case study. Firstly, in terms of carrying out the study, Asoke has a large collection of visual tourist materials such as photographs, pamphlets, postcards, flyers and posters ranging from prior to the Second World War to the present. This enabled me to reach various old visual and textual materials related to Asoke and Asoke's tourism. It provided me with the opportunity not only to examine commercial visual materials currently produced and distributed but also to highlight the historical change of tourist landscapes in Asoke throughout the 20th century. Secondly, in spite of being a popular destination for more than the last 60 years, little 'cultural and

social' research has explored the history of the town as a modern destination while Asuke is well-known among Japanese researchers in tourism studies and urban planning (see chapter five) for its community-based tourism development. Thus, the focus of my work on cultural and social aspects of Asuke's landscape reproductions will give another significant insight in the understanding of the practices of Japanese tourism and its relationship with visual consumption.

4.2 Research Methods and Fieldwork Process

In this section, I discuss the ways in which the formation and the practices of tourist landscape are investigated. How has the very visual notion of landscapes in the West operated and functioned within the Japanese context? How can one research dynamic image-making activities and the inscription of new meanings and values that are produced by particular social groups? What methods enable us to uncover tourist activities for the consumption of tourist places and landscapes visually and physically? How are 'meanings' and 'signs' brought, produced and consumed in the process of reproduction of tourist landscapes? Here, I will develop methods that allow us to shed light on the multiple practices of tourist landscapes undertaken by different social actors.

In order to achieve this, I need to bring together various research methods, tools and representations in a single research process. Cross-disciplinary research needs to be put into practice. Using mixed research methods is a useful approach to gain insights into cultural processes of landscape constructions and their experiences. Particularly visibility is an integral part of my study both in framing my research theoretically and in collecting materials to be analysed. It is therefore necessary to pay special attention to how the visual research of my project is conducted. My research largely engaged in visual methodology; in particular I mainly employed visual ethnography which includes ethnographic-inspired observation and photographing as well as filming to examine the process of production of tourist landscapes at Asuke. I opted for using interviews in order to gain an understanding of the diversity of discourses

articulated by different social actors. I also undertook archival work at libraries and museums for the collection of visual materials and historical documents.

However, selecting research methods is a political choice, reflecting both theoretical implications and my personal inclination to engage with a particular ‘way of seeing’ the world (S. Smith 2001). Michael J. Crotty considers ethnography as a methodology that ‘shapes our choices and use of particular methods and links them to the desired outcomes’ (Crotty 1998). Ethnography is not a method of collecting qualitative data but ‘a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives, which are to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given “field” or setting, and its approach, which involves close association with, and often participations in, this setting’ (Brewer 2000: 11). Ethnography can be therefore understood as a set of the processes of choosing, experiencing, interpreting, and representing a particular culture or society led by theoretical perspectives. Sarah Pink also argues, ‘rather than being a method for the collection of “data”, ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on ethnographers’ own experiences’ (Pink 2001: 18).

Recently more attention has been paid to the visual and its producing process associated with the social life in contemporary societies. In her influential book on visual methodologies, Gillian Rose introduces five general approaches related to visual culture in order to explore the social effects of images (G. Rose 2001; 2007). Through an examination of the debates on visual culture, her emphasis is placed on the importance of the emergence of ‘*social difference*’, ‘effects of the *social context of viewing* and with *the visualities spectators* bring to their viewing’ in the production and reproduction of vision (G. Rose 2007: 12, *Italic original*). In order to be attentive to these reproduction processes of social effects, it is necessary for us to consider critical ways of working with visual materials. Rose suggests three major points in carrying out a critical approach to visual culture; 1) ‘take image seriously’, 2) ‘thinks about the social conditions and effects of visual objects’, 3) ‘consider your own ways of looking at images’ (G. Rose 2007: 12).

Cultural anthropologist Marcus Banks splits visual research methods into three kinds of activities: ‘making visual representations (studying society by producing images)’, ‘examining pre-existing visual representations (studying images for information about society)’, and ‘collaborating with social actors in the production of visual representations’ (Banks 1995). Visual ethnography is a process of constructing knowledge and particular ‘ways of seeing’ in association with visual images. It produces partial knowledge and generates ‘truth’ and ‘reality’ discovered and shaped by particular theories.

Conducting visual ethnography involves the practices of producing and re-contextualising images through research processes. I opted for undertaking visual ethnographic research to study the lively activities of producing and reproducing tourist landscapes in contemporary Japan. The importance and usefulness of ‘making photo-essays’ as a tool for producing ethnographic knowledge more broadly was discussed by several scholars (Pink 2001, Larsen 2004) although some researchers have disputed the ‘objectivity’ of represented data (see a discussion in Pink 2001: 134).

Ethnographers have been using visual images such as photography, film and recently videos (Ball and Smith 1992, Pink 2001) and photography in particular has been extensively employed as a recording device. However, it is necessary to be aware that the act of taking a picture and photography in general is not a method of collecting and representing the objective truth. As Macintyre and Mackenzie state, ‘the experience, the motivations and the social positions of the photographers are intrinsic to the images’ (1992: 163). Ethnographic photography requires researchers to be reflexive and ‘aware of the theories that inform their photographic practice, of their relationship with their photographic subjects, and of the theories that inform their subjects’ approaches to photography’ (Pink 2001: 54). Therefore my ‘visual ethnography’ of Asuke is a combination of my photographic performances at the research sites and my writing practices as an ethnographer. The photo-essay that I present in my thesis, composed of the visual and textual representations of my own

social experiences that mirror my ‘way of seeing’ the world.

It is widely accepted that photography is strongly connected with the production of geographical knowledge both as scientific data and as aesthetic representations (M. Crang 1997, Ryan 2005). However, photography is not only ‘images (representations), but also material objects with certain specific physical characteristics’ (Larsen 2004: 10). Through the processes of production and consumption, photography has become an important tool in the production of imaginary as well as material landscapes. In addition, photography is associated with the production and reproductions of the tourist gaze and visual consumption in tourism (Sandle 2003: 191). Using photography is, therefore, a key factor in exploring the ways in which particular social actors such as ‘tourists’ and ‘local residents’ as well as ‘researchers,’ using visual images as objects, create and inscribe social values and meanings in the production of geographical knowledge in tourism.

I kept a research diary during the fieldwork and often went back to it, as well as the photographs I took, throughout the data analysing process. Pink notes the usefulness of keeping a reflexive diary in carrying out visual ethnography (2001). Keeping the diary enables us to be aware of ‘the development of one’s photographic practices and the intentions and ideas that informed taking each image’ (Pink 2001: 57).

I conducted my main fieldwork in Japan from January to June 2008 and additional short-term fieldwork in August and November 2009. The major part of my study was carried out in Asuke, where I explored the representation, development, production and performances of tourist landscapes in modern Japan. In addition to that, in December 2008, I conducted library research to obtain textual and visual materials related to the history of formation of modern Japanese landscapes at the National Diet Library in Tokyo (chapters two and three).

Collecting visual materials on Asuke’s tourism is a central part of my ‘visual ethnography’. Since my thesis attempts to shed light on the formation and practices of contemporary landscape construction in one modern destination, the collection of

historical visual and textual materials is an important parameter of my fieldwork. In order to elucidate any changes in Asuke's natural and historical landscapes, I undertook detailed archive work in Asuke and Nagoya-city. Initially, I conducted library research at the Aichi Public Library in Nagoya-city. The foci of the archival work there were both on historical and official materials associated with Asuke and Asuke's tourism. I collected old travel guides and published photographs featuring destinations in central Japan after the early 20th century and historical materials on the Aichi Prefecture. I also consulted statistical data on Asuke's tourism, official documents published by the town of Asuke and major contemporary travel guides introducing destinations including Asuke in central Japan.

The intensive archival work for the collection of tourism related visual materials on Asuke was mainly carried out at the Asuke Museum. The museum has a large collection of commercial visual materials such as postcards, posters and flyers, which depict a variety of landscapes of Asuke as a destination. The collection ranges from prior to the Second World War to the present. However, the majority of the data obtained from the archival work was tourism related visual materials covering post-war Japan. Most of the visual materials for examining the development of Asuke's tourist landscapes were selected from after the 1950s. All of the data collected from the Asuke Museum were scanned and obtained in a digital form. Although the museum has a massive collection of tourism materials, it is necessary to be aware that the collection is limited and does not contain all the tourism related materials on Asuke produced so far.

In addition to the collection of old materials, contemporary visual materials and documents related to Asuke's tourism were also obtained during the archival work at the Asuke Museum. Commercial photography has played an important role in providing and sustaining place-myths and their visual images (Larsen 2004: 104). Visual images that capture sites and objects in a destination, affect tourists' visual consumption and performances. Almost all kinds of postcards currently sold were collected by buying them at several locations (tourist office, tourist facilities and souvenir shops) within Asuke. Additionally, on several occasions during my

fieldwork, I was given both the latest and previous visual materials, such as posters, postcards and flyers by my informants and officers at the Asuke Tourism Association. Finally, I also photographed tourism posters currently hanging on the walls of buildings within Asuke.

To explore the formation and practices of Asuke's tourist landscapes as a modern process, I focus on community-based tourism development that has revolved around the construction of Asuke's historical townscapes. Asuke as a small rural town in the hills without any main industry has relied on tourism as a means of maintaining its community spirit and pride throughout the 20th century and especially after the Second World War. The formation of historical townscapes in Asuke, initiated by local groups, provides significant insights in exploring the ways in which modern landscapes have developed as a device to convey and visualise new meanings and values through tourism. It is a modern process animated by tourism development and town-making activities by the local community since the 1970s. Looking at the formation of historical townscapes in Asuke offers evidence for the inscription of new cultural meanings and construction of material comfort driven by local groups through tourism development.

My detailed archival work investigated the development of historical townscapes in Asuke from prior to the Second World War to the present (chapter five). I particularly focused on one tourism event, called Tankororin, in order to explore the dynamics of tourist landscape formation driven by one local group characterised by a community spirit. The event featuring Asuke's old streetscape with historic buildings at the town centre began in 2002 and its aim was to promote tourism income during the summer season. This study occupies a large section of this project examining the process of reproducing historical townscapes in the town centre (chapter six) and the discovery of a historical townscape in Asuke in the 1980s (chapter five). The Tankororin event is organised by a local group (the Society of Tankoro, hereafter the ST) mainly composed of local residents. Every year the ST works independently to organise the summer event and produces visual commercial materials for promotion. As I will show in chapter six, the promotion of the

Tankororin event is visually orientated and a number of tourism posters are being produced and employed to publicise the event. Therefore, during my fieldwork I mainly collected posters, flyers, postcards and texts relating to this event. Moreover, in order to investigate practices of landscapes which were re-discovered by the ST through the event, I participated in the Tankororin event on several occasions in June 2008 and August 2009 and observed as well as photographed tourists at the historical district. I also observed and made conversational interviews with members of the ST who organized the events. I could thereby observe the process, procedures and practices by local residents as well as tourists in visualising and reproducing Asuke's 'new' historical townscapes.

Furthermore, I carried out formal semi-structured interviews with representatives of the ST that have participated in the organisation of the Tankororin events mentioned above in order to understand their interests, contexts and strategies. I also conducted interviews with key members of the ST; the designer of promotional visual materials such as the posters of the Tankororin events; the public relations manager of the ST; the former officer of the Asuke Tourism Association who is a member of the ST and actually began to organise the Tankororin as a tourism event. Since all of the informants have been engaged in the organisation of the Tankororin event from its inception until the present, they should be considered as powerful and leading figures in the production of contemporary historical tourist landscapes in Asuke. The goal of my interviews with key members of the ST was to understand their activities with regards to the various aspects of the event's organisation and its representations of the historical townscapes. In addition, these interviews aimed at elucidating the active role of the local group in producing landscapes in Asuke in the context of tourism development and town-making. The focus here was not only tourism discourses from the local community's point of view but also practices associated with the objectification of their mundane environments. I made a digital recording of these formal interviews and they were transcribed later for analysis. My interviews followed a more conversational rather than formal form (Eyles 1988 cited in Valentine 2005, Valentine, 2001) and they concentrated on the reasons and motivations for organising the Tankororin event, their individual stories, feelings

and opinions associated with the events and its ‘staged’ historical landscapes. Although the questions asked in the interviews were prepared in advance, I was open to any topics that my informants initiated and I only redirected the conversations when they moved too far away from my research topics. Even though I had prepared the same questions for each informant, conversations have spontaneously begun to shift to their own concerns and roles related to the ST’s activities. I also brought photocopies of tourism posters and other related visual materials that the society have produced since 2003 for the promotion of the event to prompt personal memories and narratives, and to make our conversations run smoothly.

I conducted interviews with the director of the Asuke Tourism Association and the local tourism guide of the Association of Asuke Volunteer Guide. The aim of the interviews was to obtain insights regarding tourism discourses of tourist landscapes, both natural landscapes at Kōrankei and historical townscapes in the town centre. My goal was to gain a better understanding of the social contexts and contents of contemporary tourist landscape representations in Asuke. Besides that, through the interviews, I also intended to understand the diversity of opinions and experiences among different social groups as well as within one social group (Dunn 2000) participating in the production and reproduction processes of Asuke’s tourist landscapes. I chose these interview topics in order to consider the ways in which their inter-subjectivities generate the meanings, processes and representations of practices of tourist landscape production and reproduction.

The specific goal of my interview with the director of the Asuke Tourism Association was to enable me to situate the local tourism authority’s discourses, practices and strategies in the process of constructing landscapes as tourism attractions. I recorded the interviews and took notes while photocopies of visual materials, such as tourism posters, were utilised during the interviews to remind the informants of every detail of each material as well as to ‘break the ice’. I also attempted to conduct informal and conversational interviews with officers of the Asuke Tourism Association and employees in tourism facilities with the aim of

obtaining a variety of opinions, experiences and contexts whenever the occasion allowed it. These conversations were also useful to me in terms of carrying out the fieldwork and gaining fresh information about tourism and tourists in Asuke. For instance, frequent conversations with an employee at a cafe in the tourist facilities provided general information of tourist behaviour and flows. During the conversational interviews, I was keen to find out common activities, attitudes and dynamics of tourists' practices and movements in Asuke. I was also interested in each respondent's personal opinions and experiences associated with Asuke's landscapes.

I participated in local guide tours carried out during my fieldwork in Asuke. The free tour of Asuke by local guides is available throughout the year except winter. The original idea of organizing local guides was planned by the Asuke Tourism Association in 2000 and 110 guided tours were carried out in 2007. I was allowed to conduct observation research at two guided tours; one tour was carried out from Kōrankei, including the flower garden, to the historical district at the town centre while the other was carried out only within Kōrankei. I recorded the local guides' narratives performed during the guided tour in order to understand how they produce and represent tourist landscapes through language. Of course, the participants' photographic performances were also observed and examined. I walked quietly at the end of the tourist line and observed and photographed their behaviour and movements. The local guides on the tours I took part in were aware of my research aims and attendance. These data provided me with evidence for a more detailed analysis of both tourist practices of landscapes in sites and tourist discourses of the constructed landscapes narrated by the local guides.

Despite the fact that the construction of the major tourist landscapes in Asuke was initiated by the local tourism authority and the local residents, Asuke continues to be a popular landscape-oriented destination. The questions here are: in what way are material and visual landscapes reflected in tourist practices and imaginaries? What are tourists actually doing at 'staged landscapes' in Asuke? How are Asuke's tourist landscapes engaged in generating visual pleasure for tourists?

To answer these questions, in addition to the ethnographic observations at the historical townscape, I conducted two intensive ‘visual ethnographies’ of two different photographic performances in Kōrankei; a) red autumn leaf viewing and, b) dogtooth violet viewing. The aims of this study was to gain evidence regarding the diversity and speciality of landscape experiences in contemporary Japanese domestic tourism by comparing the photographic performances of nature viewing at two different natural landscape sites. The materiality and visibility of both sites are socially and culturally constructed and their histories are located in their differing contexts. This comparison enabled me to undertake a more focused consideration of the meanings and experiences of nature viewing practices for contemporary Japanese tourists. My ethnographic work in this study is not what some researchers call a conventional ethnography that focuses on long-term involvement with one particular community investigating their social meanings and ordinary activities (for instance Valentine 2001, Cook 2005). Instead, I have followed Larsen’s way of observing tourist performances, namely ‘picturing/filming-while-observing’ (Larsen 2004: 33)³². For almost six weeks I photographed and observed a variety of activities such as photographing, walking, viewing, posing, as well as chatting that tourists performed in the chosen landscaped sites (for dogtooth violet viewing: March and April 2008, and for red autumn leaf viewing: November and December 2009). In doing so, my aim was to investigate how photographic performances are enacted within different natural landscapes. Since the leisure activities of viewing nature are strongly linked with seasonality in Japan (Linhart 1998), both studies were conducted during their peak seasons; spring when the dogtooth violet as a main attraction in the garden is in bloom, and autumn when one can see the changing colour of leaves.

During the observation phase of my two studies, I walked quietly, sat down on benches, and captured tourists’ photographic performances, bearing in mind that tourists should not be disturbed by me. I was observing and photographing tourists squatting, kneeling, bending, lying, stretching, posing, chatting, and smiling.

³² Since his research methods are inspired by Sarah Pink’s photo-essays on bullfighting (1997), I also consulted her work for conducting my own research methodology.

Photographing was a major part of my ethnographic observation throughout the fieldwork in Asuke. The act of photographing was a vital way of collecting and recording my data. Since cameras in a tourist place are omnipresent, it seemed that tourists in the chosen sites hardly realised I was observing them. This enabled me to observe unconstrained tourists' behaviours and performances³³. Filming is also acknowledged as a useful tool for visual 'note-taking' (Pink 2001: 87). I employed video recording in order to capture interactions both between travel companions, and between tourists and landscapes. Filming is of great assistance in recording how tourists organise an overall structure of photographic performances. However, it should be noted that similar to photographing, video recording too has to be treated as the representation of 'partial truth' rather than that of visual facts. In this sense, filming is also considered as a device for reflexivity. My ethnographic research, during which I did not speak to the tourists and asked them to look at me when I photographed, produced a total of more than 1300 photographs and 22 short films (2-3 minutes each).

As part of my ethnographic observation at the sites, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with 'tourist-photographers' in Kōrankei to explore why and how they photographed. One of the aims to have interviews with busy tourists was to avoid any preconceived interpretations of photographic performances that I might have formed throughout the ethnographic observations (Larsen 2004: 34). I. M. Daniels pointed out the difficulty of interacting with tourists on her ethnographic research at a tourist site in Japan (Daniels 2001: 31). Similarly, I found it was difficult to make conversation with 'busy' tourists, as they were always engaged in taking pictures, watching flowers or the mountain scenery covered with red autumn leaves, walking on the path and having a chat with their travelling companions. To make conversation possible, with regards to interviews with dogtooth violet viewers, I opted for conducting interviews at benches with ashtrays inside a parking space located in front of the flower garden to ensure longer conversations.

However, I experienced more difficulties in interviewing 'busy' maple leaf viewers

³³ However, I had my ID card hanging around my neck during the ethnographic observations on both studies.

than dogtooth violet viewers. The former were busy with viewing and photographing activities and as a result, I ended up interviewing tourists in two locations where people could sit down temporarily after or during their visits; one was a sitting area inside the tourist information centre, and the other was the outdoor benches at a small open space alongside Tomoe River. Since the majority of tourists visiting the tourist information centre were bus-tour tourists, I was able to interview individual tourists at the outdoor bench.

I interviewed 24 (10 red autumn leaf viewing; 14 Dogtooth violet viewing) sets of tourists (including couples, three or four member groups, families, and single tourists), and each interview lasted between five and ten minutes while the longest interview was more than 30 minutes (see interview list in chapter seven). I started the interviews by introducing myself and my research topic, showing my identity card. I attempted to make the interview informal and conversational with a small notebook in hand because I did not want to give them the impression that my interview would be long and a bother to them. In the cases when I found the informants reluctant to continue being interviewed after having answered a few questions, I spoke to them slowly and tried to let them feel free to go away. The interviews were conducted with tourists who held cameras in their hands in order to acquire information on their knowledge, insights, ideas and experiences toward photographing.

Furthermore, I attempted to collect photographs taken by tourists of the areas where I conducted ‘two visual ethnographies’ in Kōrankei. The result is 58 photographs (50: dogtooth violet viewing; from two interviewees, 8: red autumn leaf viewing; four interviewees). As the imbalance of the number of the obtained photographs shows, collecting tourist photographs at tourism sites was definitely tricky in terms of the ethical and practical parameters. When I found my interviewees reluctant to talk to me, I did not ask them to show the photographs they had taken. I was very careful throughout this process and put any pressure to my interviewees to show or give me their photographs. This is because whatever tourists captured, tourist photography is the product of the ‘private’, and providing their pictures to me

involves exchange of personal information. Although I always informed my interviewees about my research topics and my identity before asking any questions, I felt it was possible that the exchange of personal information would make them feel uncomfortable and reluctant to get involved in the interviews. It seemed that a five or 10 minutes talk with an unfamiliar person is not enough time to build a relationship that would allow them to provide personal information. Therefore, in the study at the dogtooth violet garden, I was able to collect the photographs of the two informants who seemed to enjoy their conversation with me and were accustomed to using emails to exchange pictures in their daily life. On the other hand, in the study of red autumn leaf viewing, I experienced even more difficulties in having long interviews and interacting with interviewees and some of my interviews were rejected or broken. In this case being already aware of the difficulties of collecting tourist photographs from my experience of the dogtooth violet viewing instead of asking interviewees to provide me with their taken photographs after their return home, I chose to ask them to show me their pictures during the interview and asked permission to photograph them with my camera.

4.3 Post-fieldwork Reflections

On the completion of my fieldwork, I began the data interpretation and analysis by converting my data into a readable and presentable form (Crang 2005). To this end, I transcribed all of the interview data and typed up notes including my reflections in the research diary that I kept during my fieldwork. I organised chronologically the scanned visual data as well as the materials obtained from the fieldwork including those from my detailed archive work and library research. The photographs and films that I have taken during the fieldwork were also organised in the original shooting order being aware that temporal chronology does not mean ‘complete reality’ (Pink 2001: 106). However, it seems useful to keep the original shooting order since it will ‘help situate the images temporally and spatially within the research process in terms of representing the structure of events and activities’ (Pink 2001: 106).

There is one issue that arose in the course of the post fieldwork process. Since my field work was undertaken in Japan, all of my data were in Japanese. All of the transcripts were written in Japanese and only some parts of them as well as some texts from the collected materials were later translated to English where necessary for quotation and presentation. Translation is, indeed, a part of an interpretative work. Great attention was paid to preserving ‘original meanings,’ by minimising the gap between the meanings that speakers conveyed and my translation. However, I am aware that my translation will never go beyond my subjective writing in the translation process. Moreover, the ‘meanings’ produced by the speakers always reflect my subjective interpretation. However, I want to stress here the technical issues in relation to this translation procedure. It is unavoidable that my translation work may influence the reliability of capturing the subtle nuances in the meanings of the original data. Therefore, in order to avoid losing the original subtleties of meaning and causing possible misunderstandings through the process of translation, I opted for ‘minimal translating’ (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Specifically, I carried out ‘literal/direct translations’ so as not to lose the meaning which the original Japanese texts convey when captions or texts printed on commercial materials were cited in the thesis. Since their expressions are often poetic and artistic, I paid careful attention to conveying the original native meanings instead of preserving their rhetoric. Therefore my translations often do not look ‘natural’ in English; as such, they reflect the difficulties and dilemmas of representing one ‘culture’ in a different language, place and context.

After all of my fieldwork data were transformed into a readable form, I was slightly surprised by the huge amount of collected data. Although my research is grounded in the visual and images, a wide range of data – commercial visual materials, photographs and films taken by myself, notes on my research diary, interview data with different social actors, textual materials, such as historical and official documents, and my entire experience in Asuke – have been obtained throughout my fieldwork in Japan. The next stage was to re-contextualise all of my data and transform them into visual-based ethnography.

Throughout my thesis, I include aspects of my own tourist experiences and performances at Asuke, where appropriate, bearing in mind that I am a researcher as well as a tourist and photographer. In fact, being a researcher and being a tourist are interlinked, and it is sometimes difficult to make a clear distinction between the two aspects of the activities. For instance, I felt that the distance between the observed tourists and me faded when I photographed 'touristic' scenery and objects at the sites as most tourists did, especially when I was touched by Asuke's scenery. I also attempted to photograph tourist objects by imitating tourists' common body postures that I observed at the sites. Understandably, these experiences affected the process of my ethnographic writing.

The above experiences can be linked to the complex issue of how knowledge is produced and situated by researchers in their writing process (Berg and Mansvelt 2000). However, there is no universal knowledge in the world, and seemingly it is impossible for qualitative researchers to write and interpret data objectively and locate themselves objectively within their research insofar as language is constituted by the author. All the knowledge produced is always situated in the context of the research's or the researcher's political ideas and intentions. As Clifford calls ethnographic writing 'fictions in the sense of "something made or fashioned"' (Clifford 1986: 6), ethnographic truths are partial and ethnographic practice inherently limits the range of representations of objective reality (Clifford 1986). It is therefore essential to be aware of the positionality of the researchers themselves and of how we are situated and write depending on our knowledge and our own selves.

While I found that the clear division between researcher and researched faded during my fieldwork, those experiences of being a 'tourist' and 'researcher' pushed me to realise the difficulties in looking at the 'ordinariness' of tourism culture in contemporary Japan, especially in the later stage of the interpretative work.

As an overseas Japanese studying Japanese modern tourism in London, UK, I found

myself almost objectifying my own culture by gaining knowledge and experiences in the English-speaking world. Throughout the process of my research, my 'insider' position as Japanese might have been narrowed through the acquisition of perspectives and insights on Japanese tourism culture produced by non-Japanese scholars. I have to a great extent acquired knowledge about 'Japan' written in English during my PhD research and this experience seems to have provided a changeability or oscillation in my work while it limited my research's perspectives and representations as an academic practice. This enabled me to move away from a variety of preoccupations associated with the practices of Japanese tourism and its culture. I hope to generate discussions linked to the production of visual geographical knowledge in modern tourism and locate my study on Japanese tourism in the context of a globalising Asian tourism culture. This reflects recent calls for analyses of growing Asian tourism and its culture, and a reassessment of the existing knowledge on modern tourism (Winter *et al.* 2008a, Winter 2009).

In addition, studying my own culture outside Japan made me realise that there are difficulties in elucidating the 'ordinariness' of contemporary tourism culture in Japan while I was aware that I had the advantage of gaining knowledge about it. The awareness of the vulnerability of my 'insider' position was exposed on several occasions when presenting my work in London. When talking about my research materials at a conference and symposiums in the UK, some of my photographs showing curious body postures of Japanese tourists attracted the audience's laughter which I did not expect. That was a particularly interesting fact for me in terms of the difference of perception of 'Japanese tourists' between non-Japanese and myself as a native Japanese and it made me realise that there are cultural preconceptions about tourism culture of Japan and its practices inside me. Therefore 'my visual ethnographies' on the practices of tourist landscapes by the Japanese reflect and combine not only my intentionality, subjectivity and fieldwork experiences at the research site but also the changing cultural and social identities through my study in the UK.

Chapter Five

The Making of Modern Tourist Landscapes in Asume

Introduction

This chapter explores the promotion of tourism and community-based tourism development in Asume in order to consider the ways in which Asume's contemporary symbolic landscapes are constructed through modern tourism. I focus on how the place-images of Asume are framed and sustained by local organisations, local residents as well as tourism intermediaries. I discuss two renowned sites of Asume; a valley called Kōrankei with distinctive natural landscapes and historical townscapes in order to explore how the touristic development activities, that reflect local interests and intentions, help shape contemporary tourist landscapes in Asume. By doing so, I highlight the crucial aspect of the local community in producing new modern landscapes where changing values and meanings are mediated visually and materially.

Contemporary tourism representations and discourses on Asume reflect multifaceted images of Asume as a tourist place. Place-myths are created through various local interests and intentions (Shields 1991). Multiple changing images of Asume are underpinned by the diversity of tourist experiences that Kōrankei's nature and history offer by walking through its old townscapes. Recent popular travel guide books featuring domestic tourism in central Japan introduce Asume as: 'a place where attractive townscapes of the old highway still remains...when you visit Kōrankei, one of the best spots (*meisho*) for viewing red autumn leaves, why don't you go on walking around nostalgic townscapes' (*Rurubu Zhūhūban*: Rurubu Aichi

2006). This example presents a successful intertwining of the two different images of the place. Such illustrations show that contemporary Asuke has been known as a ‘famous spot (*meisho*)’ characterised by a distinctive nature and the fame of a historical town. In this sense, the ‘uniqueness’ of Asuke is based on the place’s nature and culture, which are inscribed into its landscapes. In this chapter I discuss the ways in which nature and culture/history are embedded into Asuke’s landscapes.

In the first study, namely Kōrankei, nature viewing activities and the formation of *meisho* (famous spots/places) are examined. I begin by exploring the relationship between nature viewing and the construction of *meisho* in Japan. I continue with an examination of the ways in which nature is inscribed and transformed into tourist landscapes specifically in Asuke. Furthermore I take into account postcards, posters and flyers produced by the Asuke Tourism Association, in order to investigate how Kōrankei was re-constructed and reinforced as a ‘famous spot with beautiful nature’ by the local organisation.

The other study, i.e. historical townscapes, investigates how the practices of tourism development initiated by powerful local residents affected the construction of historic tourist landscapes. In contrast to the Kōrankei study, community-based activities in the 1970s and 1980s arising from a nationwide town-making movement are discussed in relation to the physical and visual formation of tourist landscapes. I also show how a shift in ways of seeing the mundane environment that took place among local residents influences the formation of tourist landscapes. Finally, I consider the visualisation of the desired scenery in the making of tourist landscapes in Asuke.

Several points regarding contemporary domestic tourism in Japan need to be highlighted in order to contextualise the case study of Asuke within the present investigation of reproduction of tourist landscapes. My focus will be on certain characteristics of Japanese tourism that are reminiscent of the Edo period travelling practices, which I have discussed in chapter two. In the examination of these historical issues it is essential to provide a more focused consideration of

contemporary tourism practices and industries, particularly in the act of viewing places through travelling.

Visiting famous places to the outskirts of cities to view nature and beautiful scenery is one of the most common leisure activities in contemporary Japan. There are several small modern destinations located in mountainous areas and/or on the periphery of major cities in Japan. Since religious travels turned into mass phenomena during the Edo-period (Ishimori 1989, Waley 1996, Oedewald 2009), the idea of travelling to destination away from the city has persisted as a common pleasure activity for the Japanese. Asuke's location, 40km away from Nagoya Metropolis, fits into this pattern of one-day pleasure trips. Equally importantly, its proximity reflects a historical aspect of the construction of tourist place and/or places for pilgrimages implemented with a sense of a pleasure trip.

Group travel is one of the major patterns of Japanese domestic tourism. According to a research undertaken by Nihon Shūgaku Ryokō Kyōkai (2001, cited in Oedewald 2009), small group travel (two to five persons) comprises more than 50% of groups in domestic travels (2000) while the number of family travels has increased from 27% to 41.8% between 1992 and 2000. As I will show in chapters six and seven, most tourists in my case study of Asuke fall in these categories, i.e. family and/or small group tourists. The patterns and forms of tourism in Asuke reflect several aspects of Japanese domestic tourism associated with traditional ideas of the Japanese travel culture. In this respect, Asuke can be regarded as a destination where some key aspects of contemporary domestic tourism practices can be viewed and analysed. The case study of Asuke thus enables us to gain a useful insight into contemporary domestic practices in Japan.

The discussion of the behavioral pattern of travel/tourism extended towards landscape experiences and practices in tourism, namely the act of viewing nature and visiting *meisho*. As I have argued in chapter two, the notion of *meisho* is one of the most important aspects of Japanese domestic tourism, particularly in terms of landscape experiences and practices.

According to Waley (1996), the Edo period saw a rise in awareness among urban residents regarding seasonal festivals, either towards some striking natural event (blossoms, autumn leaves) or a customary ritual (new year celebrations). Arguably, such cultural practices related to the enjoyment of nature and seasonality remain popular in contemporary domestic tourism in Japan as well. Scenery viewing and visiting historical spots are main activities carried out in Japanese domestic tourism at present (Nihon Syūgaku Ryokō Kyōkai 1998, cited in Oedewald 2009). In this sense, ‘natural’ and ‘historical’ landscapes are main attractions drawing tourists’ attention. Subsequently, the construction of distinctive natural and/or historical landscapes related to traditional concepts and patterns of Japanese tourism should be considered vital in the designation of a place as a popular domestic destination in contemporary Japan. For all these reasons, I do believe that the case study of Asuke’s tourist landscapes, in which traditional concepts and patterns of Japanese tourism can be viewed, is particularly meaningful in order to examine the contemporary Japanese ways in the production and consumption of tourist landscapes in Japan.

5.1 The Making of Natural Landscapes

Contemporary tourist pamphlets of Asuke with colourful images and texts introduce the town as ‘Asuke, a town with history, tradition, and creativity...’. This caption printed on a recent tourist pamphlet produced by the Asuke Tourism Association (hereafter ATA) characterises Asuke as a mountainous town that is, nevertheless, a modern destination. However, given that the pamphlet’s cover page depicts Mt. Imori and the Tomoe River in their entirety, I suggest that the main attraction in Asuke is its natural beauty especially linked to Kōrankei:

Kōrankei has a variety of features emerging through four seasons. Dogtooth violet heralding spring, early summer with bright fresh green, and seeking cool air in a shady nook of maple trees in summer, the joyful cheers by children playing in the water are echoed across Tomoe River. In autumn,

maple trees turn to absolutely gorgeous red leaves. Surface of the river coloured vividly depicts beautiful scenery like a *nishiki* picture³⁴.

(From the official pamphlet produced by the ATA)

The above statement shows that the diversity of natural landscapes at Kōrankei is the major aspect of its appeal. It draws on Kōrankei's natural surroundings to attract visitors. The picturesque natural landscape, resembling a '*nishiki* picture' and associated with all seasons, and the nature viewing activities that can take place there dominate Asuke's contemporary tourism.

Kōrankei is the central and most popular attraction in Asuke's tourism and its major attraction for tourists is that it allows seasonal viewing of nature. As I have shown in chapter four, Kōrankei has a distinctive natural landscape of red autumn leaves. The uniqueness of the spectacle attracts a large number of tourists, especially in November and December, which are the two busiest months in Asuke. The annual tourist arrivals in Kōrankei in 2007 exceeded 1,200,000 persons, more than half of whom visited the area in November (Tourism and Recreation Statistics in Aichi 2007). The changing colours of the maple leaves have attracted numerous tourists to Kōrankei, resulting in a huge profit in Asuke's tourism. Thus, the man-made 'natural' landscapes that were constructed after the Edo period, and particularly during the 1920s, formed the foundation for the development of tourism in Asuke and they remain a major attraction for contemporary visitors.

Nature has played an important role in creating a famous place and shaping cultural practices associated with leisure and travel both in Japan and the West. For example, the French historian Alan Corbin explores the changing popular 'consciousnesses' of the sea and coast – from the unpleasant and hideous to the pleasurable and relaxing – between 1750 and 1840 in Europe (Corbin 1994). His historical analysis reveals not only how the discovery of the seaside occurred in that period, but also how the shift in the ways of seeing the ocean shaped the visitors' new types of habits and fashions. In the early 18th century the seaside was considered a place for medical

³⁴ Multi-coloured woodblock printing invented in the 1970s. Its beauty of multi-coloured pictures allowed *ukiyo-e* (woodblock printing) to be popularised among the Edo Japanese.

treatment, for example melancholy and spleen problems, by bathing in the waves and taking a holiday at the seaside (Corbin 1994). The varying ways of seeing nature shaped new types of social practices whereas new nature related discourses and representations were repeatedly produced. Brian Moeran and Lisa Skov (1997) discuss how the meaning of nature is produced in Japanese advertising. Their study illustrates how, in contemporary Japan, the media deliberately emphasise important social events, such as marriage, by symbolising nature and its representations with the aim of developing the consumer market. In this context, looking at nature and its representations is useful in the understanding of contemporary culture underpinned by consumerism.

Furthermore, it is also essential to understand the historical roots and changes of attitudes towards nature in Japan. In order to explore the production and consumption of natural imagery in contemporary society, nature's multivocality seen as part of cultural practices and representations must be addressed. The perception of nature in Japan is often linked to natural phenomena in the form of metaphors. Sonja Arntzen examines the traditional Japanese perception of nature within classical poetry (Arntzen 1997). Arntzen notes that 'the human access to an immanent nature is through sensory experience which may be then translated into metaphor' (Arntzen 1997: 54). In other words, the sensibility described in poetry acts as a vehicle to connect human beings and nature. Although Arntzen's study focuses on the traditional Japanese perception of nature in classical poetry, it is useful to be aware that such a perception of nature is strongly linked to sensory experiences described through metaphorical meanings.

In addition, the ways of interacting with nature reflect a unique aspect of Japanese leisure activities, namely the obsession with seasons and especially nature viewing. By applying Caillois' four categories of play to classify the Japanese plays/pleasures Mitsukuni Yoshida, a Japanese historian, proposes an additional one: 'ritualised and formalized "cult of seasons"' that is to 'savour and celebrate the sensations aroused by various natural and seasonal phenomena' (Yoshida 1987: 19). Examples of such activities include the tea ceremony, flower arranging, listening to singing insects and

moon viewing. He also argues for a strong link between nature and sensibility that prevailed until the mid-19th century among the Japanese, by describing each season and its relationship with sensibilities. For instance, it was said that fireflies glimmering in the marshes along the riverbank in summer are related to solace to the lonely and viewing snow is one of winter's pleasures, which is associated with a pensive thought or poetic frame of mind (Yoshida 1987).

Ohnuki-Tierney discusses the relationship between the symbolism of cherry blossoms and their viewing that takes place in Japanese spring. Through her historical analysis, she considers cherry blossoms as a metaphor representing a particular social group, and discusses the complexities in the diffusion of cherry blossom viewing and its meaning in the social stratification. She indicates that cherry blossom viewing can be understood as a powerful tool for the investigation of the multiple dimensions of Japanese culture (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 233). Subsequently, nature viewing activities, forming an integral part of Japanese leisure activities, mirror a certain way of performing cultural practices.

Such cultural practices associated with nature have produced tourism commodities of nature in contemporary Japan. Okpyo Moon (1997) discusses the commodification of nature through tourism promotion in the village development programmes in Japan during the 1970s and 1980s. Natural resources such as hot springs, mountains, rivers, animals, and flowers are 'invented' and developed as tourist commodities that are considered as 'uniquely regional' products (Moon 1997: 222).

Nature is also inscribed and transformed into landscapes in tourist places. Flowers and plants are often cultivated as tourist commodities and landscapes of flower gardens and farm houses are constructed while a wide range of nature-related activities such as fishing, camping, and trekking are offered (Moon 1997). Several actions to preserve and conserve agricultural landscapes have been taken both at national and local levels. By adding a new meaning to them, agricultural landscapes are redefined and maintained as new tourist objects. For example, the rice terraces of

Wajima-city were designated as prefectural cultural heritage in 1956 and became popular tourist attractions as natural and agricultural landscapes. In reality, however, the lack of labour force for their cultivation, due to depopulation and aging workforce, had already caused serious problems (Yasujima 2001, Kikuchi 2007).

Returning to Asume, the seasonal viewing of nature is the major force to attract tourists throughout the year. In the following section, I discuss how the symbolic image of Kōrankei as a modern *meisho* where one could experience red autumn leaf viewing has been constructed visually and materially. I begin by presenting some monochrome photographs produced in the early period of the 20th century, followed by an analysis of contemporary tourism posters and flyers.

5.1.1 The Making of Natural Tourist Landscapes

Chūbu Nihon Meishō Shashinchō (Photograph Collection of Beauty Spots in Central Japan) published in 1930 includes an article introducing the Asume Kōjakuji-temple. The article contains two monochrome photographs accompanied by descriptions of the site (figure 5.1). The two photographs depict the Kōrankei valley and Tomoe River; the accompanying descriptions emphasise Asume's nature beauty and they present the historical figure of Sanei-Oshō, a monk at the Kōjakuji-temple, who is thought to be the first to plant maple trees at Kōrankei in the 17th century. In the description, several activities that take place at Kōrankei during each season are introduced; 'Cherry blossoms in spring, boating and sweetfish fishing in summer, moon viewing and red leaves of maple trees in autumn, snow in winter'. *Nagoya Kankō Annai (Nagoya Tourism Guide)* published in 1933 introduces Kōrankei with short descriptions and one photograph (figure 5.2). These descriptions praise the scenic beauty of the Asume River with its several bridges and they celebrate Asume as a town with historical buildings. The guide also mentions Kōrankei as a famous place for red autumn leaf viewing. *Kankō no Nagoya to sono Kinkō (Tourism in Nagoya and its Suburbs)* published in 1939 is another representative example; the book commemorates the cooling air from the Tomoe River and describes Kōrankei as a renowned spot for red autumn leaf viewing (figure 5.3). The three examples

交 通

愛電神宮前—足助（知立驛乗換
西中金驛下車バスにて）
時 間 二時間半
賃 金 往復三圓（バス共）

五、八つ橋

業平の和歌によつて知られた杜若の名所である。
現在無量壽寺といふ小字の中に昔の面影を残してゐる。

交 通

愛電神宮前—八つ橋（知立驛乗換）
時 間 一時間
賃 金 往復一圓十銭

六、其他見るべきもの

海水浴場の新須磨、一色大提灯の諏訪神社、矢作川沿岸の美田（所謂日本デンマーク）等。



足助香嵐溪

Figure 5.2: *Nagoya Kankō Annai* (*Nagoya Tourism Guide*) published in 1933 (photograph by the author).

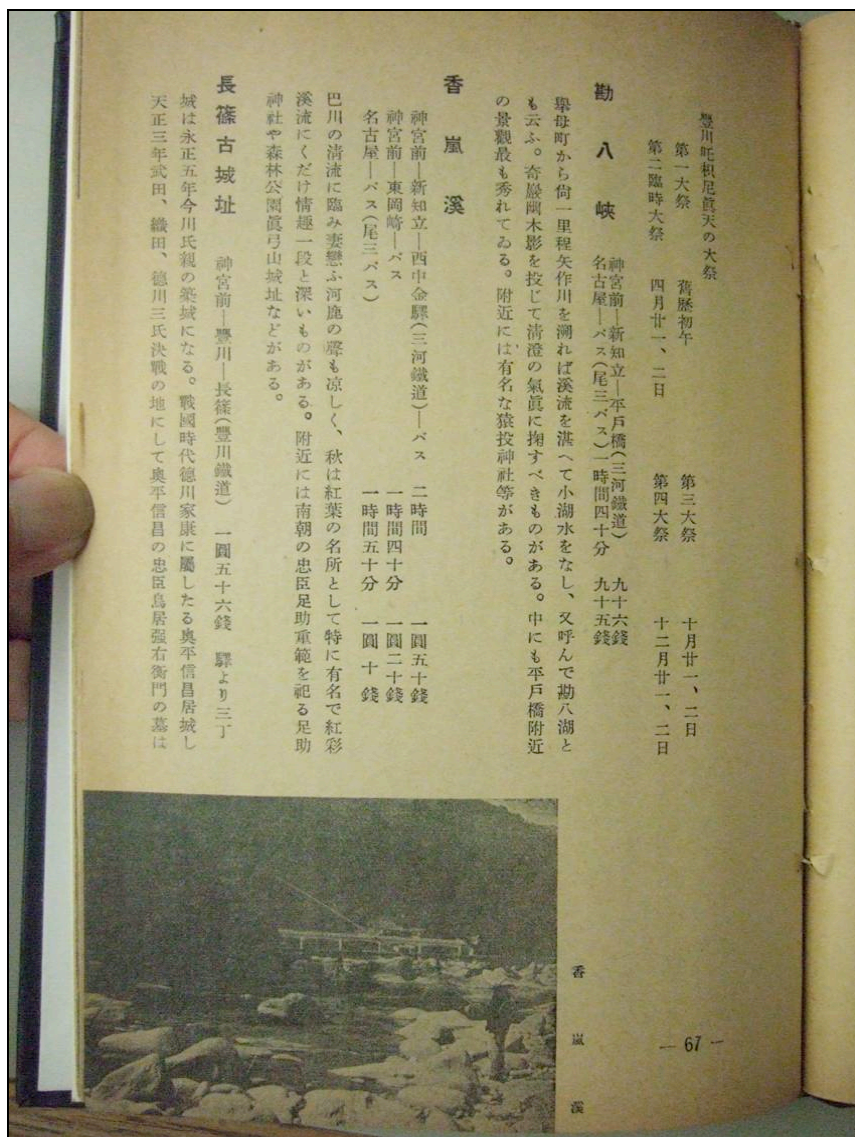


Figure 5.3: *Kankō no Nagoya to sono Kinkō* (Tourism in Nagoya and its Suburbs) published in 1939 (photograph by the author).

discussed above reflect how the reputation of Kōrankei as a ‘famous place’ for nature related activities had already been built by the early 20th century. They also illustrate how Kōrankei was depicted as a ‘famous place’ where one could enjoy its natural beauty throughout the year. Each narrative presents certain appeals of Kōrankei as a nature viewing place. The notion of beautiful scenery and several activities that the natural setting affords are emphasised in the images of the Tomoe River, the riverside and the surrounding mountains.

It did not take long until Asuke became a popular destination again after the Second World War. In 1947, the ATA was reorganized to enhance Asuke’s tourism development. In order to promote Asuke as a destination, the ATA carried out several promotional activities in the 1950s with the assistance of both the mass media and the grass root campaign. For instance, coloured tourism posters were distributed in the trains of the Nagoya Tetsudō (a private railway company in the Tōkai metropolis) and radio advertising was carried out. At the same time, *geiko* dancers from Asuke performed at major stations in Nagoya-city wearing kimonos patterned with red autumn leaves and rivers (Asuke Tourism Association 2005: 14).

Various tourism materials were also produced to attract tourists. My archival work at the Asuke Museum reveals that after its 1947 reorganisation, the ATA produced a variety of visual materials with colourful photographs and illustrations. Figures 5.4-5.7 depict the posters produced in the 1950s-1970s for the promotion of the Red Autumn Festival that has been organised during the peak season since 1950. They portray elements similar to those of the old photographs produced in the 1930s. The main components of the posters are red autumn leaves, a red bridge, the Tomoe River, figures of tourists and place names and some practical travel information. However, although the major elements comprising the images of the later posters remain the same as those of the images produced between the 1950s and 1970s, there is also difference between the posters produced prior to the war and those produced after the war. What changes in the later depictions are the composition and the angle of the camera when taking the photographs. For example, one of the salient objects in the posters (except figure 5.5) created during the 1950s and 1970s



Figure 5.4: Tourist pamphlet produced in 1958 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).

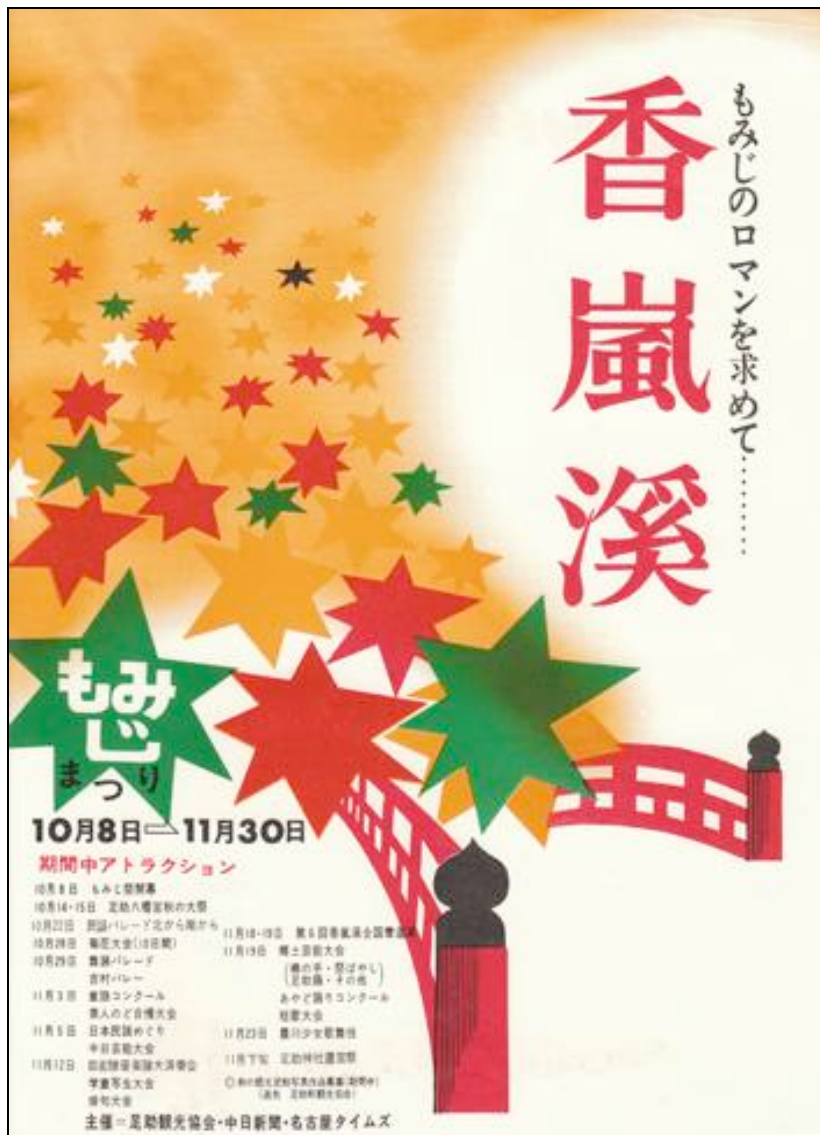


Figure 5.5: Illustration produced in 1967 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).

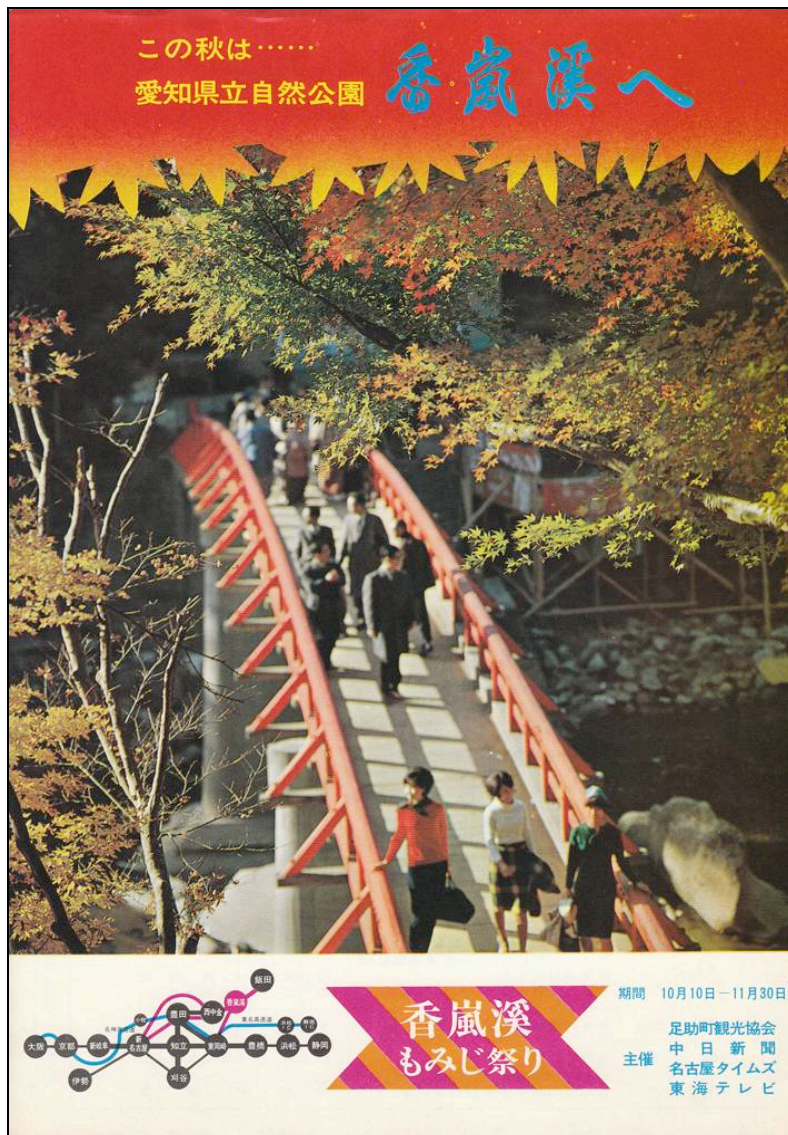


Figure 5.6: Tourist pamphlet produced in 1969 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).

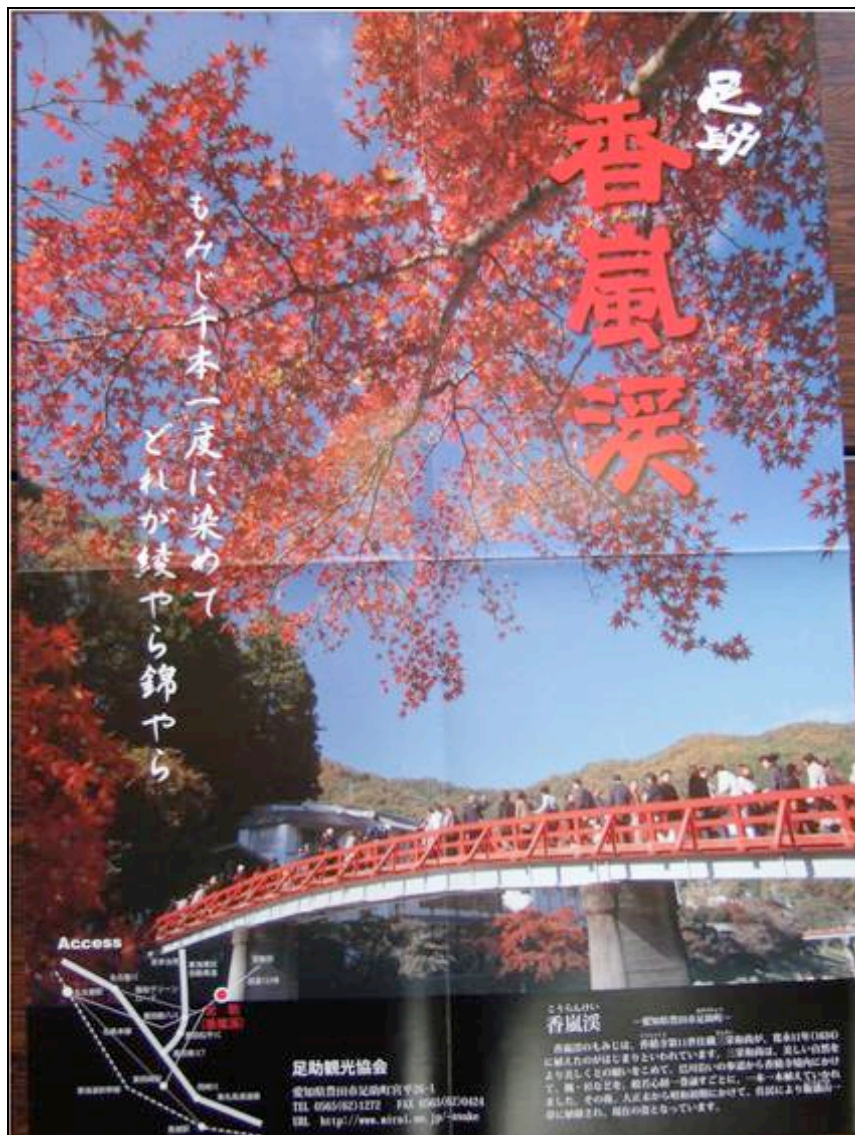


Figure 5.8: Poster produced in 2006 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).

is the red bridge across the river with tourists walking and viewing the scenery from it. The red bridge is placed in the middle of the picture and a close-up of the bridge and the river allows the red bridge to become the most salient object of the poster. The human figures are depicted clearly enough to provide the viewers with a sense of how to perform 'red autumn leaf viewing' at Kōrankei. Interestingly, such characteristics remain in the production of the recent tourism poster for the Red Autumn Leaves Festival. For instance, figure 5.8, produced in 2006, shows that similar elements are employed to create contemporary images of Kōrankei in autumn.

5.1.2 Bridge

The red bridge across the Tomoe River, called Taigetsu-kyō Bridge, was initially re-built in 1961 in the place of the former Taigetsu-kyō wooden bridge. The wooden bridge was seriously damaged in 1959 by the biggest typhoon in post-war Japan (Isewan-Taihū). The coloured and slightly curved bridge built in 1961 became firmly associated with Kōrankei's landscape and 'the Bridge across the River' continues to be the best known image linked to the red autumn leaves of the Kōrankei landscapes. Figure 5.5 is a characteristic example of the bridge's central role in Kōrankei's natural landscapes. The flyer for the promotion of the Red Autumn Leaves Festival held in November depicts simplified and deformed red and green maple tree leaves and the red bridge.

The bridge as a material element has played an important role as a view producing object at Kōrankei. While landscapes are cultural images, material objects and buildings are indispensable for constructing the symbolic images. The formation of tourist landscapes is partially conditioned by material objects that constitute the principal elements of the symbolic images. In addition, the material object not only helps construct the symbolic images but also offers concrete spaces where people can practise certain kinds of performances in and with tourist landscapes. For instance, the physical presence of the bridge provides a concrete stage for performing tourist photography, as I will discuss in chapter seven.

It should be noted that the Taigetsu-kyō Bridge is not merely a symbolic element of Kōrankei's natural landscape but also a symbol of the Town of Asume. Municipal statements related to the latest reconstruction of the bridge provide evidence of the construction of the bridge as a symbol of the Town of Asume. The most recent reconstruction of the bridge took place between 2005 and 2007 to alter its earlier decrepit condition. A brochure on the latest reconstruction introduces the new Taigetsu-kyō Bridge as a 'symbol of Asume', showing several old images of Kōrankei with the bridge and its history:

The word 'Kōrankei' invokes 'Taigetsu-kyō Bridge' for many people, saying 'oh yeah, that red bridge'...we shall build up history with the new Bridge, bearing in our memory the old Bridge. We look forward to reconstructing a new symbol of Asume.

(Asume Branch of Toyota-city Council 2008)

The above statement from the pamphlet giving the details of the whole reconstruction process clearly indicates that the Bridge is regarded as a symbol of Asume Town. Through the process of reconstruction, the link between the Bridge and Kōrankei is strengthened and the historical value of the Bridge is reinforced by creating a sense of continuity between the new and the old Bridge. Paul Waley suggests that ferries of the Sumida River, Tokyo's main river, served as 'symbols of a vanishing world' in the formation of a cultural landscape as Tokyo rapidly transformed into a modernising and industrialising city in the Meiji period (Waley 2003: 229). The ferries were evocative elements of landscape change and were employed as a means both to describe emotions and feelings and represent a connection with a past era (Waley 2003). Similarly, Taigetsu-kyō Bridge in Asume has served as an evocative symbol which forms part of the symbolism of Asume and at the same time helps articulate memories about the past.

5.1.3 The Historical Origin of Kōrankei as Meisho

Another consideration with regards to the formation of the modern tourist landscape of red autumn leaf viewing is the 'historical origin' of Kōrankei. Historical origin in

general has been vital in the construction of fame of modern destinations. Historical values played an important role in the formation of *meisho* in the Edo period. As MacCannell states; ‘for moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simple lifestyles’ (MacCannell 1976[1999]: 3). Most of the contemporary tourist pamphlets/brochures about Asuke introduce Kōrankei as a ‘famous place (*meisho*)’, a term implying a culturally appreciated place or ‘a place of fame’ (Oedewald 2009). The establishment of fame and historical connections with sites is instrumental in increasing the fame of a place (I. M. Daniels 2001a, chapter three) while visiting and seeing *meisho* is one of the major activities in Japanese domestic tourism³⁵.

The historical origin of Kōrankei as a famous spot of autumn leaves dates back to more than 350 years ago. It is said that the foundation of Kōrankei as a place to view natural scenery was constructed around 1634 by Sanei-Oshō who was the resident priest at the Kōjakuji-temple at the time. He is said to have planted seedlings of maple trees, pines and Japanese cedars on the side of a 400-500m path leading to the Kōjakuji-temple when he became the resident priest at the temple. According to the available information, he had visited the Eigenji-temple at Ōumi (current Shiga prefecture) in his middle age and the site’s beautiful scenery of red autumn leaves drove him to create similar scenery at the Kōjakuji-temple. Until 1930 when the valley alongside the Kōjakuji-temple was named ‘Kōrankei’, the scenery of red autumn leaves in Asuke was called ‘red autumn leaves at Kōjakuji-temple’³⁶. Thus, the origin of Kōrankei’s scenery is established by linking it to a historical figure who accomplished a ‘great achievement’ more than 350 years ago. The Kōjakuji-temple itself is characterised as a place where red autumn leaf viewing was performed by people of the past.

The historical figure mentioned above plays an important role in making Asuke famous and granting it credibility as a ‘famous place of red autumn leaves’. Adding

³⁵ According to a report by the Japanese Travel Association, ‘viewing famous places and historic spots’ was the third most popular activity in overnight pleasure trips (Oedewald 2009).

³⁶ The name ‘Kōrankei’ was given by Hikoichi Motoyama, president of the Osaka Mainichi Shinbun (present-day, Mainichi Daily News in Osaka) when he happened to visit Asuke in 1930.

a historical value has been one of the ways of increasing the credibility and authenticity of a place. Various tourism materials (tourist pamphlets, travel guide books and the ATA website) explain the authenticity of Kōrankei as a ‘famous place’ by associating it with Sanei-Oshō and his achievement. The use of a historical figure to increase the fame of Asuke’s natural beauty seems to contradict the tourist appeals of the place’s natural landscapes. However, as I have also shown in section 5.1.1, historical quality is a key element in the construction of famous places in Edo. I argue that historical values are often utilised to authorise and give approval to Kōrankei as a ‘famous place’.

It is necessary to note that the local municipal administration has employed narratives of Kōrankei’s development and its historical origin to reinforce Asuke’s images as a rural town. For instance, the General Third Town Plan of Asuke issued by Asuke Town has introduced the history of Kōrankei’s development including Sanei-Oshō’s tale as the ‘Story of Kōrankei’ in the section entitled ‘Asuke’s Attractiveness’ stressing the uniqueness of the town (Asuke Town 1996: 21-24). Through a comic strip, the story of how Kōrankei has become a destination famous for red autumn leaf viewing is narrated. Interestingly, the story of Kōrankei’s development, through the planting activities undertaken in the early period of 20th century, resembles those found in contemporary pamphlets and guide books. Subsequently, there is a similarity between tourist and local community discourses in the representation of Kōrankei.

This fact brings to mind the view, stated by the American anthropologist William Kelly, that in post-war Japan, villages or small towns in the outer regions of the country continued to present themselves as distinguished from urban areas. They put forward a perception of themselves as more traditional, authentic places although the lifestyles of the residents both in the countryside and urban areas were similar (Kelly 1990). According to Kelly, rural areas in post-war Japan were considered as places where life is ‘antithetical to that which was “modern” and “democratic” and desirable’ (Kelly 1986: 606). Rural life and areas were represented as poor, superstitious and irrational. Their residents’ life style and living environment were

required to be developed and improved (Nakamura 2007). However, a different perception of rural life was also present. Kelly notes that rural life was represented as an idealised place where the authentic tradition remained and ‘the cultural institutions and authorities at the society’s center have come to fetishize countryside like Shōnai in travel posters, tourism itineraries and television specials’ (Kelly 1986: 606). According to Japanese folklore scholar Nakamura, the latter perception became dominant in Japan after the 1980s (Nakamura 2007). The important aspect here is that such discourses position both the ‘rural’ and the ‘urban’ in post-war Japanese society whereby rural communities in peripheral Japan were simultaneously included and excluded from the wider society and its powerful discourses shaped by the urban (Kelly 1990).

The similarity between tourist and local community discourses in Asuke’s natural landscapes can be explained by the discourses above that help to shape imaginative geographies of the rural areas in contemporary Japan. While Kōrankei’s ‘nature’ is constructed to attract tourists, it also acts as a vehicle to encourage and strengthen the local community. The tourist landscapes of Asuke are consumed not only by tourists visiting the area but also by the people living there. Despite their differing social identities, the gaze of tourists and the local authority in Asuke focuses on Kōrankei’s natural landscapes where historical authenticity and natural distinctiveness are embedded.

5.1.4 The Appearance of Tourists

The appearance of tourists in posters promoting tourism in Asuke can be considered as part of Kōrankei’s cultural inscription as a ‘famous place’. Crawshaw and Urry (1997) discuss the ways in which commercial tourist photography depicts tourists’ dreams, desires and images of places. They show how photographers involved in the production of commercial tourism photographs in the Lake District aimed at capturing ‘instantly recognizable, technically perfect, beautiful images for tourists’ (1997: 186). They also point out that the photographers’ perceptions reflect what people want to see and imagine (Crawshaw and Urry 1997). In the case of the

Lake District, images devoid of people reflect the romantic tourist gaze. In contrast, the appearance of tourists in Asuke's tourism posters reflects what people expect of Kōrankei as a famous nature place. In his book *The Tourist Gaze*, John Urry discusses the difference between the two forms of tourist gaze: the romantic gaze and the collective gaze (Urry 2002). The collective gaze is characterised by conviviality and liveliness of places (Urry 2002). For instance, the presence of a crowd of people denotes an atmosphere of bustle, conviviality or festivity. This form of gaze is related to public rather than private spaces implying that 'this is *the* place to be and that one should not be elsewhere' (Urry 2002: 43 *Italic original*). In this context, a crowd of tourists on the Bridge help to present Kōrankei as a busy place. The presence of people provides liveliness and a sense of movement in the photograph indicating that the place is 'approved' as a famous site by other tourists. The movements and body postures of the tourists in the posters are also interesting as they suggest to potential visitors how to 'walk and pass through' the bridge. Figures 5.4 and 5.6-5.8 show some tourists standing still and viewing the scenery from the bridge while others keep walking. The portrayed tourists 'guide' future tourists, via a subtle visual language, and provide them with 'itineraries' of how to tour and practise contemporary nature viewing activities at Kōrankei.

The above discussion showed how the ATA has shaped and developed Kōrankei as a modern *meisho* through tourism promotional materials. With the use of a variety of strategies, natural tourist landscapes were constructed in Kōrankei with the aim of promoting it as a *meisho* of red autumn leaf viewing. Such a strategic visualisation of natural landscapes enabled Kōrankei to remain a popular destination. In chapter seven I show how this modern *meisho* constructed by one local tourism organisation is actually consumed by contemporary tourists. The next section focuses on another successful example regarding the creation of tourist landscapes in Asuke by a local group.

5.2 The (Re)making of Historical Landscapes

5.2.1 Rural Revitalisation and Town-Making

While the earlier study focused on how nature is used in the construction of tourist landscapes in Kōrankei, this section discusses the energetic work, in the 1970s and 1980s, of the local community in producing tourist landscapes in Asuke. It also shows how modern tourism transforms mundane environments into ‘historically unique places’ visually and materially, and how fame as well as credibility are established through this formation/dissemination process. Initially I discuss the relationship between the local community, tourism development and rural revitalisation and town-making activities that began in Japan during the 1970s in order to provide the background for understanding the formation of historical landscapes in Asuke.

The movements of the rural revitalisation and town-making activities in the 1970s are commonly linked to the rapid changes in the social and cultural environment, including environmental pollution, migration, population-aging and economic decline, that occurred in post-war Japan (Moon 1997, Yasui 1997). Rural depopulation, in particular, was a serious problem that post-war Japan first confronted in the late 1960s as a result of high economic growth after the Second World War (Moon 1997, 2002). Numerous people from small towns/villages in peripheral regions migrated to local cities or metropolitan areas where more job offers and opportunities were provided. The depopulation of rural areas resulted in a deterioration in the infrastructure and the quality of life in rural areas. This poor state of rural areas prompted the rise of village revitalization and town-making activities in the 1970s. These activities are community-based and are self-help efforts aiming at improving the communities’ social and economic conditions. Local citizens and committees of suffering peripheral regions were the advocates of these movements. At the same time, in order to maintain the quality of life in those areas, the Japanese government issued in 1970 a new law regarding the unpopulated regions. A number of villages and towns were designated as ‘unpopulated areas’ and

Asuke, my focus in this thesis, faced the same fate in 1971.

Tourism has been one of the major strategies adopted by such villages/towns for the creation of more job opportunities and the improvement of their inhabitants' welfare level (Moon 1997). As Moon states, some of the villages and towns were redeveloped as ski/golf resorts to increase households' incomes in rural areas (Moon 2002). Areas that were not suitable for such facilities promoted their 'unique' qualities of lifestyle, local products, nature, history and folklore in order to attract visitors and, thus, improve their economy. In this context, 'everything that is considered unique to the locality, and that might attract the attention of urban tourists, has been turned into a commodity and exploited' (Moon 2002: 229). For instance, cultural anthropologist D. P. Martinez shows how the historical sources of a fishing village in the Mie prefecture, Japan where tourism became a main source of livelihood, i.e. fishermen and diving women, were transformed into touristic commodities and images in order to attract visitors and revitalise the village (Martinez 1990).

This discussion can be linked with debates on the contemporary obsession with heritage and local culture. The term 'heritage' started to be widely used in Europe in the 1970s (Sethi 2005). The past/history became a commodity, goods to be manufactured and sold (Hewison 1987) and as such they turned into objects of the tourist gaze and tourism related industries (Urry 2002, Timothy and Boyd 2003). Japan was not an exception. A sudden increase of heritage and heritage/museum tourism sites occurred in post-war Japan; for instance, between the early 1970s and the late 1980s Japan more than 200 folk museums were established all over Japan (Kanzaki, N. cited in Jimura 2010). In addition, the establishment of the Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Historic Buildings (IPDs) in 1975, by an amendment of the Cultural Properties Protection Law, marked a change in government policy particularly in relation to 'local culture' and townscape preservation (Nakamura 2007: 14-15).

After the first movement of rural revitalisation and town-making, which largely

focused on economic developments in the late 1960s, the second phase of the revitalising efforts, on a national and local level, was initiated in the 1980s (Yasui 1997, Nakamura 2007). One important aspect of the 1980s movement is that it offered local people, who were the major participants in the activity, an opportunity to reveal the uniqueness of their towns/villages to the outside world. Moon explains this as an identity movement as follows:

[L]ocal people are attempting to re-define the meaning of their existence in a postindustrialized setting in which their position as producers and suppliers of food is being constantly undermined...[I]mportant is the motivation of constructing a new identity that would help them to overcome not only the material disadvantages of rural decline but also their self-conception as losers in industrialized and urbanized modern Japan. The *muraokoshi* (rural revitalisation, Italic original) movement is often defined as one that enables rural residents to take pride in (*hokori to suru*, Italic original) what they are and what they have.

(Moon 2002: 229)

Thus, the revitalising efforts of the 1980s, largely undertaken by local people and local committees, attempted to establish and foster local identity rather than to improve the socio-economical conditions of the area.

Townscape preservation has been an important parameter of the rural revitalization/town-making activities in post-war Japan (Nishimura 2007). It was a means of improving the local economy through tourism development. Uta Hohn defines two major aims of the townscape preservation movements in post-war Japan: ‘first, boosting the local economy by the development of tourism, and second, protecting and preserving the traditional living environment as a cultural property for the benefit of the whole nation, but especially for the benefit of the local habitants, who can live a modern life style inside the buildings while the historic appearance of their outer façade is preserved’ (Hohn 1997: 227).

Townscape preservation movements first came to prominence in the late 1960s³⁷

³⁷ The emergence of the concept of ‘townscape preservation’ in Japan dates back to the work of Yoshitane Tochinnai (1888-1945), a journalist who hugely contributed to the importation into Japan of the City Beautiful Movement (see detailed discussion Siegenthaler 2004). In addition, Siegenthaler

(Hohn 1997) and have since been a major strategy to revitalise cities, towns and villages at the local and national level (Nakamura 2007, Nishimura 2007). Due to the rapid modernisation after the end of the Second World War and the subsequent nationwide destruction of historic buildings, much attention was paid to the importance of ‘historical identity (history, culture and tradition)’ (Hohn 1997: 214). In this context, the preservation of the historic quality of townscapes/streetscapes became ‘a fundamental aspect of general environmental problems’ in post-war Japan (Hohn 1997: 214). The rise of awareness of the preservation of historic buildings can be found both at the local and national level. The nationwide movements of townscape preservation in particular, can be regarded as a tool for establishing townscape qualities initiated both by local people/committees and the central government. Cities or citizens’ committees, such as the Association of Towns with Historic Townscapes of 1973 and the Japanese Association for Townscape Preservation of 1974, were established.

I would like to stress that townscape preservations initiated by citizens in peripheral regions also increased the number of tourists and decelerated further population decline. The example of Tsumago-town, discussed by Hohn (1997), is characteristic. The townscape protection movements initiated by local people/committees in the late 1980s, following a grass-root approach to the townscape preservation in the 1960s, and focusing on the landscapes of an old post station resulted in an increase of tourist arrivals and the successful ‘deceleration’ of population decline. Tsumago-town was designated as an IPDs in 1976 which brought additional government subsidies although the rise in tourism was not able to stop the ongoing depopulation of the town (Hohn 1997). However, the crucial point here is that the initial action to protect Tsumago’s social environments was not taken by the central government³⁸. When the central government established the law of IPDs in 1975, the

states: ‘Tochinai’s influence...is apparent among townscape preservation activists in the post-war period, as is seen in the re-publication in the mid-1980s of selections from two of his 1929 essays on historic townscapes’ (Siegenthaler 2004: 107).

³⁸ According to Hohn (Hohn 1997), following Takayama-city’s first preservation society in Japan founded by the residents of Takayama in 1966, the Friends of Tsumago Society was founded in 1968. Its first outcome was the charter entitled the ‘Inhabitants’ Charter to Conserve the Post Town of Tsumago’. There were three important principles in this Charter: ‘no selling of buildings, no leasing to non-local people, and no demolition of buildings’ (Hohn 1997: 219).

townscape preservation of Tsumago-town had already been in motion for about 10 years by local citizens' initiatives (Hohn 1997). Nishimura also indicates that townscape preservation in Japan was originally associated with community-based movements for the revitalisation and improvement of the social conditions of towns/villages (Nishimura 2007). In this sense, as in Europe and the United States (Ellin 1996), the construction of historical townscapes in post-war Japan was influenced by local civic groups' activities that de-valorised the meanings and values of living environments.

However, it should be noted that the process of historical townscape production inevitably involves a discrepancy between discourses and practices. Creighton presents Hikone city as her example of this phenomenon; although Hikone preserves the richest Edo Period architecture (1868-1912) in Japan, the city has also developed a 'Heisei (the current Japanese Period)' version of a castle town, i.e. 'Old New Town', where all buildings follow the Edo-style (Creighton 2008). Despite the fact that Hikone-city has more Edo-style buildings than any other part of Japan, modern buildings that resemble those from the Edo Period have been constructed with the sole purpose of entertaining the tourists' eyes. Historical townscapes are, in the context of tourism development, renewed and reproduced with new meanings while material designs and architecture are being deliberately planned to serve the local community's interests and intentions.

Using Asuke's historical townscapes and their relationship with the local community as a case study, it is possible to gain valuable evidence about the relationship between the community-based tourism development activities and the production of landscapes in contemporary Japan. Given that Asuke is not an IPD, the practices of townscape preservation in the region have been based on self-administrative activities³⁹. In other words, the case study of Asuke presents an opportunity to study the crucial role of local groups (often driven by some influential figures inside the community) in constructing landscapes as a modern process. Since the late 1960s, or even since prior to the Second World War, Asuke has been actively involved in

³⁹ However, during my fieldwork, I heard that Asuke-Town is currently preparing apply for designation as an IPD.

town-making activities tied up with tourism development (see chapter four). Hosting the first annual Townscape Seminar (*Zenkoku Machinami Zemi*) in 1978, organised by the Japanese Association for Townscape Preservation, reflects the pioneering role of the town in the movement of community-based townscape preservation. Extensive research on domestic tourism in post-war Japan has focused on the countryside/rural areas that developed as tourist destinations as a result of the modernisation process (Martinez 1990, Creighton 1995, Moon 1997, 2002, Graburn 1998, 2008, I. M. Daniels 2001a, Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Moon 2008). Nature and culture in such rural areas are powerful ingredients in attracting contemporary urban population (Graburn 2008). Since the end of the Second World War, Asuke had suffered from depopulation while local residents began to migrate to major cities for more job opportunities (Asuke Tourism Association 2005). In this context, Asuke's tourism development can be precisely regarded as an attempt to protect the area against depopulation initiated by the local community.

In the following section, I discuss how Asuke's townscape preservation movements, driven by local residents, produced historical landscapes materially and visually. The questions to be answered in that section are: how did historical sources come together to produce touristic images? How do townscapes in Asuke represent themselves as tourist landscapes? How is historic townscape quality established through tourism development initiated by local people?

5.2.2 The Making of Historical Townscapes

Contemporary pamphlets and travel guide books continue to produce and reproduce Asuke's historic environments to visually attract visitors. There is a wide recognition that Asuke has a historical townscape nearby Kōrankei while the town prides itself on its historical origin as a post town and its landscapes. The Edo-style buildings – some are reconstructed and designed to look like those from the Edo period – are repeatedly introduced through visual and textual representations. In this context, one of the primary touristic appeals of Asuke is centred on the historical townscape in the high street of the town.

Asuke where attractive townscapes of old highway still remains...
(*Rurubu Zhōhōban*: Rurubu Aichi 2006: 54-55)

The old highway where Manrin Bookstore, Asuke Tyūma-kan, a historic townscape and (traditional) night-light are located, shows signs of the past...
(*Rurubu Zhōhōban*: Rurubu Aichi 2003: 16-17)

In old times, Asuke flourished as a post station along the Chūma Highway carrying salt from Mikawa-gulf to Shinshū region.
(*Mappuru magazine*: Mappuru Aichi 1999: 86-90)

Presented above are eye-catching captions printed in major travel guide books which introduce Asuke's tourism. According to Moeran, English and other European language loanwords play an important role in attracting tourists' attention in Japanese travel brochures. This is particularly so with regards to international tourism brochures, since as B. Moeran (1983) suggests, loanwords are not frequently found in domestic tourism leaflets. The above captions on Asuke's tourism support Moeran's notions. In travel guide books, Japanese words and phrases are employed to stress the historic qualities of Asuke's town and tourists are invited to experience the 'past' of the town.

Becoming an historic 'approved place' could be an easier way to become a popular destination; new meanings are added to the fame of the place through the rediscovery of local cultural tradition and its scenic quality. History and nostalgia inscribed into landscapes can be considered as typical features of the tourist gaze. Urry discusses how heritage plays an important role in constructing the tourist gaze in Britain (Urry 2002 see chapter 6). Similarly, Asuke's townscape is characterised by 'history' that the pre-modern buildings, consisting of the old highway in the town centre, have incorporated.

One of the features of Asuke's heritage-based tourism development is the involvement of local residents. In the following paragraphs, I describe the restoration of two old buildings located in the middle of the town centre. By doing

so, I discuss how the material construction of Asume's historic townscape involved local residents' interests and powers.

After its designation as a depopulated area in 1971, Asume turned to tourism development, through the townscape preservation of its high street, led by Shōichi Ozawa, the chief of the tourism section of the Asume Town Office at the time (Hirao 2005). In 1975, the Association of Townscape Conservation in Asume (hereafter, ATCA, *Asume no machinami wo mamoru kai*) was organised by 30 local residents. The Association started off with 224 members and aimed at boosting Asume's economy, especially business activity in the town centre, and improving the residents' living environments (Inoue *et al.* 2003).

The town centre has various old buildings – dating from the late Edo style to early modern style – and the number of unoccupied houses has been increasing since the 1970s. Asume Chūma-Kan (figure 5.9) is a folklore museum with an exhibition on the history of Asume's business, finance, and transportation between the end of the 19th and the middle of the 20th century. The building itself is located in the middle of the town centre and was built in 1912 as the Asume branch of Inahashi Bank. It was left unoccupied in 1977 and it was expected to be demolished and replaced by parking space due to its decrepit state. However, three board members of the ATCA offered to acquire the building on behalf of the owner and as a result, the demolition was cancelled. In 1980, the building was given to the town authority which restored it following a 'traditional' (early 20th century) design with white walls and black roof tiles. After the restoration, the building re-opened as a museum in 1982. The museum was designated as a town cultural heritage and as a prefectural cultural heritage in 1981 and 1984 respectively. Currently, the museum is introduced in the tourist pamphlets, travel guide books as well as the ATA's website as a major tourist attraction.



Figure 5.9: Asuke Tyūma Kan (photograph by the author).



Figure 5.10: Branch Office of Toyota Shinyō Kinko (photograph by the author).

The second example to discuss is the restoration of the branch of Toyota Shinyō Kinko Bank in 1979 located in the west of the town centre (figure 5.10). In 1979, granted permission for the reconstruction of the old residence, the bank planned to rebuild it as a reinforced concrete building. However, several members of the ATCA, including its first president Kinpachi Taguchi, requested a change of those restoration plans. As a result, the new branch was built in 1980 to fit the 'historical townscape' following Asuke's traditional architecture style. This event raised awareness for townscape conservation and its scenic quality and people's increased interests in townscapes as cultural heritage changed the locals' attitudes towards their environment. For example, the restoration and reconstruction of buildings and roofs which 'fitted the townscape' show a significant increase everywhere in the town. Despite the lack of governmental financial support in restoration projects at the time, 42 restorations took place in Asuke between 1980 and 1985 (Nishimura 1997: 96). This example shows how the residents of Asuke's town centre raised their awareness towards their living, mundane, environments and began to regard them as 'historic properties.'

Both examples discussed above illustrate how the local community and town authority are linked to the material construction of Asuke's historical landscapes. As Urry indicates, the action of heritage preservation driven by the local state/local conservation groups played a crucial role in developing tourism in the areas that needed it (Urry 2002). In the case of Asuke, the role of local residents in the reconstruction of those two old properties was fundamental. I would also like to emphasise that townscape preservation and the rise in awareness of Asuke's historical townscape were initiated by powerful individuals, such as Shōichi Ozawa, chief of the tourism section of the Asuke Town Office at the time (currently the president of the ATA) and Kinpachi Taguchi, the first president of the ATCA. Their efforts for the refurbishment of the properties increased Asuke's 'attractiveness' as an historical town. As a result the refurbished properties became an object of tourist gaze. The historical townscapes of Asuke were constructed by associating the improvement of social conditions and living environments with 'historic authenticity'. In other words, 'history' was deliberately employed by local residents

in Asuke in order to create and increase the value of old buildings and the area's townscapes.

Another parameter that we need to consider is the relationship between the local state and the reinforcement of historical values of the townscape. The General Third Town Plan of Asuke issued in 1996 describes three principles with regards to Asuke's 'attractiveness' as a rural town: 1) proximity to major cities, 2) culture with historical abundances, and 3) mediating exchanges of people through tourism. In the second category (culture) special attention is given to the appearance of the townscapes:

Townscapes with historic buildings:

- White walls and black-wooden fences which recall the prosperity of the past remains in the middle of the town.
- In recent years, paths alongside Asuke River have been paved and you are invited to experience attractive townscapes with history.

(Asuke Town 1996: 19)

The municipal administration of Asuke has explicitly strengthened the area's townscape quality by associating it with the 'past' and history for the purpose of town revitalisation. The townscapes perform an important function by representing Asuke's cultural historical appeals which are linked to the past and history. Interestingly, the townscape qualities are narrated by linking them to a material design and organisation. 'White walls', 'black wooden fences', 'paths alongside Asuke River' are employed to invoke the area's townscape qualities (Asuke Town 1996: 19). These descriptions are introduced together with pictures of historical townscapes and cultural properties which are currently used in tourist pamphlets and guide books.

The history of Asuke as a post station is considered as its strongest appeal in the process of revitalising the town. Narratives of Asuke's 'attractiveness' are tightly interwoven with narratives of history and culture. Historic properties and their scenic quality are regarded as the town's 'unique' values and the importance of

applying these features to the town-making activities is highly stressed. In addition to the historic townscapes, various tourist attractions in Asuke, such as Kōrankei and its open-air museum, are described as important features in the quest for the town's revitalisation.

Another aspect of the discussion of Asuke's 'attractiveness' is how the municipal government attempts to establish the link between the uniqueness of Asuke and the historic townscape:

There are several important features in Asuke, which foreground the 'uniqueness' of Asuke and could be regarded as Asuke's unique 'characteristics'. We will be effectively exploiting these 'characteristics' in our town-making activities.

(Asuke Town 1996: 18)

The above statement is the introductory paragraph of the section entitled 'Asuke's Attractiveness' and it explicitly shows that the municipal administration weaves a distinctive discourse in which the importance of the town's uniqueness is placed within the context of town planning. This notion reveals that Asuke's administration considers the 'characteristics' that tourism development and promotion created for Asuke as a powerful tool to strengthen local pride and prestige. It can be argued that the formation of historical landscapes in Asuke is linked to town-making practices, tourism development and promotion, and the creation of cultural uniqueness.

5.2.3 Touristic Images of Historical Townscapes

In this section, I pay attention to several postcard images featuring my case study's townscape, entitled 'Townscapes in Asuke' and issued by the ATCA in 1985 (figure 5.11). Similar photographic images are easily found in other contemporary tourism materials (see figure 4.3 in chapter four), such as the ATA's website, various tourism pamphlets, and travel guide books featuring townscape viewing activities (Nakao *et al.* 1991, Takatsuchi 1991).

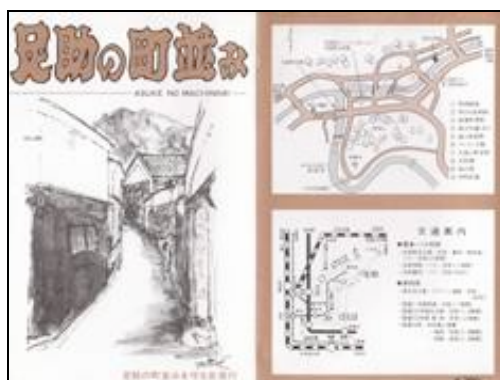


Figure 5.11.1: Cover page in Townscape postcards in 1985 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).



Figure 5.11.2: Manrin kōji in Townscape postcards in 1985 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).



Figure 5.11.3: Façades of three traditional houses in Townscape postcards in 1985 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).

One of the explicit features of the photographs for the visual production of Asuke's townscape is the absence of people in the townscape scenery. The materials that I collected during my archival work reveal this tendency in the production of visual images throughout the 1980s. Neither local people nor tourists are considered appropriate for inclusion in the scenery. The buildings themselves constitute the most prominent objects of the photographs. The façade composed of rows of houses and an alley are depicted devoid of any tourists or local residents, and in this way they are transformed into historical landscapes objectified and narrated as tourist attractions.

Architectural features, such as building façades, are the predominant elements of Asuke's historical and commercial image. Arranging elements or eliminating certain kinds of people and objects is the strategy employed for the composition of beautiful and saleable touristic photographs. As discussed in the earlier section, professional photographers consciously create 'good selling subjects' and 'successful landscape photography' in the production of tourist photography (Crawshaw and Urry 1997: 186-187). In the Lake District, 'only some categories of visitor are viewed as appropriate; and local people are almost always seen as inappropriate even if it is they who mainly produce the look of the landscape' (Crawshaw and Urry 1997: 187).

The elimination of people and the obsession with solitary and private images of historical townscapes imply a link with the 'romantic' gaze. The romantic gaze is characterised by 'solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze' (Urry 2002: 150). The representations of Asuke's historical townscapes demonstrate the expression of the romantic gaze underpinned by historic authenticity.

The photographers' ways of seeing echo tourists' desires, imagination and expectations (Crawshaw and Urry 1997: 188). They mirror tourists' dreams and desirable images of places. As one of the photographers in Crawshaw and Urry's study answered, 'My photographs are illustrative, beautiful, romantic. That is how

we try to present places. That is what people want. That is how they imagine it will be' (Crawshaw and Urry 1997: 189). Such a notion suggests that a historical image devoid of people can be the desired scenery that delights and entertains modern tourists' eyes, and meets their expectations.

Tourism discourses of the historical townscape in Asuke are often associated with the history of Asuke as a post town in the Edo period. Asuke was developed as a post town throughout the pre-modern period and its townscape is often described in association to its historical origin. For instance, the tourist pamphlet produced by the ATA stresses Asuke's role as a key area in the transportation networks during the Warring States and Edo period. The images of Manrin kōji and the façade of the three continuous traditional houses with white walls, the oldest region in the town centre, displaying valuable roof styles (*'tsumairi'*) are repeatedly used. The pamphlet also highlights the economic and social prosperity of Asuke, by linking the town to the 'Salt Road' highway, a flourishing trading route during the Edo period.

Furthermore, such historic quality is also enhanced from an architectural point of view. For instance, figure 5.11.1, an alley, called 'Manrin kōji', is one of the most popular and eye-catching views in Asuke's townscapes. The house and storehouse that comprise the alley are often introduced as a successful example of a traditional private residence reconstruction (Bessatu Taiyo 2005: 104-109). The white and black walls of the alley indicate that the town retains street walls and architecture from the Edo period resulting in Asuke's description as a town where people live in harmony with the traditional lifestyle and architecture. Those sceneries continue to be the symbolic images of historical townscape in Asuke, linked with historical and architectural credibility and approval. Thus, the repetition of similar images and compositions in the tourist visual materials enhances the objectification of the iconic images of this historical town.

The historical townscapes discussed above play an important role in creating Asuke's fame and credibility as a 'historical town' where one can see 'authentic' buildings dating from the pre-modern era. Here, something more can be said about

how the representations of ‘authentic places’ are constructed. As discussed in section 5.1.4, there was a shift of narratives in post-war Japan’s countryside, which has de-valourised and re-shaped the representations and practices of rural life. The dominant discourse that rural areas are places where one can encounter the authentic tradition of Japan has performed important functions in shaping policies and attitudes towards rural areas in Japan (Moon 2002).

More importantly, it is clear that the shift in the perception associated with rural areas significantly affected the rhetoric of the rural revitalisation and town making in the 1980s as well as local people’s perception about themselves. This idea can also be extended in the emergence of a nostalgic boom after the beginning of the 1970s. As I have discussed in chapter three, the concept of nostalgia is a key element in the understanding of domestic tourism in post-war Japan. Travel, in particular travelling to the countryside, symbolised the ways in which people recovered from the loss of Japanese identity, which hit people in the post-industrial era as a result of the modernisation and westernisation of their lifestyle. In this sense, domestic tourism in post-war helped to visualise and shape new Japanese landscapes where tradition, nature, history, and (lost) ‘Japaneseness’ were inscribed according to different actors and fashions. The formation of Japanese landscapes through domestic tourism and town-making activities in post-war Japan reflected what Japanese people living in the post-industrial era might have lost in the process of rapid and drastic modernisation after the end of the Second World War. Lost Japaneseness could be found in rural areas through travelling practices. The case of Tsumago-town that I mentioned earlier is a characteristic example.

At the same time, the shift in people’s perception of Asuke’s social environment from a living environment to a ‘historic town’, similar to other rural areas of Japan, is also linked to the increased public interest in ‘local culture’ as heritage. The consequences of such a shift were reflected in the increasing number of the IPDs (currently 87 areas are designated as IPD). This resulted in a shift in the aesthetic senses of modern Japanese landscape. The production of historical townscapes requires, not merely the preservation and restoration of old properties, but also the

re-valorisation of landscape beauty and the aesthetic perceptions of places made possible by a modern consciousness consolidated in post-war Japan. This re-valorisation transformed 'old residences' into 'heritage' to be preserved.

The rhetoric regarding the idealisation of rural areas has affected the art of representing the 'authentic' historical townscapes of Asoke. The view that rural areas and life are associated with tradition and history is a powerful tool in increasing the fame of Asoke's historic properties. By excluding local people and tourists and focusing on the façades of historic buildings, authentic historical townscapes are constructed. The reality of ordinary life in Asoke's town centre is strategically eliminated from the representations of historical landscapes in the 1980s. The salient objects are material designs of old properties. In this context, the tourist gaze involves an aesthetic sense that requires the elimination of the town's real and ordinary life. The visualisation of an idealised 'historic' town involves the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion which reflects the dominant discourses on the Japanese rural areas, intentions of the local community and tourist imaginaries.

Finally, I want to return to my initial argument about the link between the production of tourist landscapes and contemporary tourism development initiated by the local spirit. Using two different case studies – natural landscape and historical townscape – I showed that tourist landscapes in Asoke's modern tourism were reproduced and reinforced visually and materially through various social actors such as the ATA, the Town Office and the townscape preservation group in the 1980s. The accounts of contemporary travel guide books have also reinforced Asoke's symbolic landscapes by repeatedly reproducing similar images of the place. In other words, the uniqueness and fame of Asoke's tourist landscapes were consolidated by discourses interwoven by the local tourism authority, the local groups, and tourism related industries.

While the two studies represent two different strategies in the construction of the symbolic image of Asoke as an 'approved' place, they also illustrate the importance of historical authenticity in the production of modern landscapes. The scenic

qualities of nature and culture are enhanced by historical values while historical origin provides authenticity as to man-made landscapes, evidence of them being 'approved' places.

Tourist landscapes in Asuke's modern tourism are shaped and reshaped by tourist visual materials including posters, postcards, pamphlets and guide books. These agents are partially reinforced by texts to convey special meanings and ideas. The diverse collection of capital, persons, objects, signs, and information and their mobilities produce tourism places and space (Sheller and Urry 2004). This way, both tourist desires and strategies picturing Asuke driven by the local groups and authority shape the imaginative geographies of the Japanese countryside through the construction of the credibility and fame of Asuke as a tourist place.

Chapter Six

Visualising Idealised Life in Asuke

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the production of tourist landscapes initiated by Asuke's local residents and tourism authority, highlighting how nature and culture incorporated into the tourist gaze are employed to stress Asuke's cultural uniqueness. This chapter explores the image-making activities, through the organisation of a tourism event, initiated by a local group in the historical townscape of Asuke. The Tankororin, as the above tourism event is called, run by the Society of Tankoro (hereafter the ST), offers evidence for contemporary image-making activities with regards to the construction of contemporary 'idealised rural life' through the outdoor displays that take place in the main street of Asuke town.

This chapter intends to highlight how the pre-modern 'traditional' aesthetics of darkness have a strong influence on the practices of tourist landscape reproduction in contemporary Japan. I have previously argued the relationship between the production of modern landscapes in Japan and 'traditions' of landscape experiences and representations (chapter two). 'Traditional' appreciations of landscape are crucial in understanding tourist landscapes in contemporary Japan. Therefore, I would like to pay close attention to how modern practices of tourism development and the 'traditional' appreciations of landscapes are entwined each other.

In this chapter I would also like to pay attention to the ways in which sensibilities are entwined with the production of contemporary tourist landscapes. As discussed in the investigation of the reception of the modern idea of landscapes in chapter two,

the process of modernizing the Japanese gaze went hand in hand with the acquisition of new representations, meanings and sensibilities. It is essential to consider how new sensibilities and local traditions are related to the process of reproducing tourist landscapes. Therefore, special attention is paid to nostalgic feelings that have shaped contemporary tourist landscapes in Japan.

In the first part of the chapter, I consider the power of nostalgia in the production of tourist landscapes in the context of Japanese domestic tourism. I continue by establishing the connections between local strategies for the revitalisation of towns/villages in the countryside and Asuke's community-based tourism development. I also highlight the significance of considering the practices of decorating outside spaces as a site where the social connectedness within one community is enhanced. Besides, I draw attention to the role of streets as public spaces where diverse social practices and identities intersect. I suggest that looking at the street reveals more complex relations between different social identities and practices.

After providing a brief introduction of the Tankororin event, I look to the ways in which the visual rhetoric of the Tankororin posters creates an 'idealised rural life in Asuke'. I also discuss how the 'locality' and 'taste' of Asuke are stressed in the production of the Tankororin landscapes, and argue that the 'idealised rural life' proposed by the ST is justified by establishing the link between the 'good old days in Asuke' and personal memories associated with the ST members' childhoods. I also underline the strong link between the construction of the Tankororin landscapes and the notion of 'Japaneseness' by examining the ST members' narratives on the Tankororin.

Next, I turn my focus to the practices of the Tankororin landscapes undertaken by different social actors, namely the event organisers, invited performers and tourists. I undertake this analysis in order to investigate the fluidity of relations between different social positions in the 'staged streetscapes'. I pay special attention to the ways in which the ST employs material designs and façades of the historical

townscape to create ‘proper’ stages for the Tankororin and its music performances. I also consider the specific styles of dressing which the ST has adopted for the organisation of the event. Through a detailed examination of the moving bodily displays performed by different social actors in and with the Tankororin landscapes, I discuss the dynamics of the social positions as the gazer and the gazed.

6.1 Nostalgia, Tourism, and Practice of Streetscape

As I have shown in chapters three and five, the obsession with nostalgia is powerful in constructing tourist landscapes in contemporary Japan. Nostalgia is a concept related to the past, present and future. It is ‘one of the most powerful motives for contemporary uses for the past’ (Fowler 1992: 119 cited in M. K. Smith 2003: 82). Stressing the significance of heritage in contemporary British tourism, Urry states that nostalgia plays an important role in the production of the industrial past through the preservation and conservation activities of heritage (Urry 2002). In Lowenthal’s words, ‘if the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it the foreign country with healthiest tourist trade of all’ (1985: 4).

Similarly, in contemporary Japanese tourism, the obsession with the past has played an important role in the production of tourism (see in chapter three). Sociologist John Clammer draws attention to the link between nostalgia and tourism promotion in contemporary domestic tourism Japan:

Current interests in Japan in the idea of *furusato*, or ‘home town’ or native place...indicates this search for an authenticity located in the small towns, villages and countryside of the outer regions of Japan – a blend in practice of nostalgia on the part of urban dwellers, romanticism, and a hard-headed desire to promote tourism to the remoter parts of the country and to popularize their products, especially their foods.

(Clammer 1997: 138)

Local communities dependent on tourism for their survival have attempted, in their shift towards industrialization and westernization, to attract urban tourists by

reconstructing and representing rural landscapes and their local characters (Moon 2002: 229). As a number of scholars have discussed, *furusato* (native places or home towns/villages) tourism in contemporary Japan has created material and imaginative spaces as well as tourist experiences associated with nostalgia. A sense of past and nostalgia has driven urban dwellers and their minds to travel to a countryside destination (Ivy 1988; 1995, Creighton 1995, Clammer 1997, Moon 2002, Graburn 2008).

As I discussed in chapters four and five, Asuke's tourism development is strongly connected to a community-based, town-making activity. The discovery of the historical townscape in the 1980s is a good example of this. During that time, the locals' awareness of townscape conservation was raised as a result of the changes which the reconstruction and restoration of historical buildings brought to the appearance of the high street. However, in order to attract more tourists after the late 1980s, the ATA also attempted to create more tourist attractions by using Asuke's natural and cultural resources. The construction of a dogtooth violets garden, which I will discuss in chapter seven, is a characteristic example of these attempts.

Another way to revitalise Asuke's town-making through tourism was to create and stage events and festivals. These ways of revitalizing villages or towns in the countryside was one of the major strategies in the rural development plan in post-war Japan (Moon 2002). At the same time, various local products are produced to create local characters by connecting history, culture and nature with places. A variety of events and festivals are also organised to promote Asuke's 'local uniqueness' as well as to attract more tourists.

The organisation of events and festivals as leisure activities linked to a local character is an easier way to get locals involved in the plans. By being actively involved, the locals pay more attention to the locality, speciality or rarity of their own culture. In fact, Asuke has taken up this strategy and the ATA has introduced a number of festivals and events that take place throughout the year. Currently, twenty-one events are organised and presented by the ATA's website (accessed June

2009). Information regarding the organised events is distributed and advertised through the association's website, tourist flyers, pamphlets and posters.

In fact, a wide range of events for selling local products and festivals are organized in connection with the site's locality and uniqueness, nature and seasonality, and traditions and history. For instance, in November, the Red Autumn Leaves Festival takes place offering night lighting of Kōrankei, tea ceremony party, performances of Japanese drums and traditional ritual music of Asume, and pottery exhibitions. 'Ohinasan in Chūma' is another event which successfully got the locals involved in the organization of the event (Asume Tourism Association 2005). It is an exhibition of old Japanese dolls for the Girls's Festival organised in the centre of the town every February and March. During the event, local participants display their own old dolls and tourists are invited to visit and to view them. The Tankororin, on which I focus in this chapter, is one of the most popular and relatively new events that began in 2002 to promote summer tourism in Asume.



Figure 6.1: Tankororin-lantern. A hand-made light-holder and shade. (photograph by the author).



Figure 6.2: Tankororin event (photograph by the author).

The Tankororin event takes place every year in the town centre where the old residences are located. It lasts for almost two weeks at the beginning of August. The Tankororin are actually hand-made lanterns consisting of a bamboo framework and hand-made Japanese paper with Edo-style light-holders containing oils, all of which have been introduced as Asuke's local products (figure 6.1). They are placed alongside the streets in the middle of the town and they illuminate the old streetscape in the town after sunset in order to help the visitor 'savour the lush darkness' (figure 6.2).

The practice of illuminating outside spaces is linked to the formation of social identity and the expression of cultural values. It produces particular landscapes that represent the displayers' cultural values. Tim Edensor and Steve Millington demonstrate how the practices of outdoor displays of Christmas lights serve as the space where contesting ideas about 'space, community, aesthetics and festivity' are created by looking at the conflicting narratives on Christmas lights interwoven by two different social identities (Edensor and Millington 2009: 104). Using an example of Christmas displays undertaken by British working class, they argue that the process of making the social identity 'relies upon shared values of community, family, festivity, generosity and nostalgia to produce a neighbourly space that is a working class "in itself"' (Edensor and Millington, 2009: 118). They discuss the ways in which social connectedness and shared values within one community are enhanced by creating a neighbourly space although such local status hardly extends to wider social networks. While constructed boundaries between the conflicting social identities may restrict the sharing of cultural values and meanings, what I would like to pay attention to here is that fluidity of relations of different social identities that is activated through corporeal movement and bodily representations in the Tankororin streetscapes.

Streets are considered as a place where diverse social practices and identities are shaped by people's experiences of the street. Nicholas R. Fyfe defines streets as 'the terrain of social encounters and political protest, sites of domination and resistance, places of pleasure and anxiety' (N. R. Fyfe 1998: 1). While the making of

streetscapes is the expression of social and cultural values and meanings constructed through vision and practices, the street also plays an important role in activating different social identities and intersections between them.

In addition, mobility or the act of walking on the street helps to influence the interplay between different social identities. Jane Rendell's analysis of the male rambler on the streets of early 19th century London shows the dynamic relationship between gendered identities and places of leisure and pleasure (Rendell 1998). She explores how public streets as sites of leisure and consumption such as the main shopping streets and arcades help produce the fluidity of relations between different gender identities by focusing on the act of walking and dressing enacted on the street (Rendell 1998). Thus, looking at streets as sites of leisure and pleasure offers an opportunity to explore the fluidity of different social identities through mobility and visibility.

Despite the fact that in the 1970s the rural revitalization movement was largely connected to the improvement of Japan's economic conditions, in the 1980s it became known as one of the identity movements where 'local people are attempting to re-define the meaning of their existence in a post-industrialized setting' (Moon 2002: 229). Nostalgia and its relationship with domestic tourism provide two different contexts for us: a) nostalgia as an active force to mobilise people to travel to rural areas, and b) nostalgia as a local strategy for economic regeneration or villages/towns revitalisation. However, in this chapter I will suggest that the obsession with the past should also be considered a powerful ingredient in the production of contemporary Japanese landscapes that possesses new meanings and values within the particular context of contemporary town-making and domestic tourism in Japan.

The Tankororin event with its practice of decorating outdoor spaces in Asuke's main streets enables us to explore the re-inscription of historical townscapes through the creation of a new seasonal tradition in Asuke. Through the decoration and performance of historical townscapes, shifting social values and interpretations of

the countryside are also highlighted. I conducted semi-structured interviews with members⁴⁰ of the ST, a local group that have organised the event as a tourist attraction and I observed tourists, event organisers and invited performers on the event day in June 2008 and August 2009. In addition, visual materials, such as posters, postcards and texts related to the event were taken into account. My ethnographic research provides evidence for the practices of nostalgic streetscapes by different social actors, while it discusses the obtained visual materials and interview transcripts that outline the processes, procedures and practices in constructing Asuke's contemporary tourist landscapes.

6.2 Organisation of Tourism Event

Lanterns bring a neighbourhood together: When darkness descends on the sleepy neighbourhood of Asuke, the locals come out. This community spirit shines thanks to an event that helps to conserve energy and bring people closer together. Residents turn off their electric lights and the area is enveloped in the glow of flickering bamboo *tankoro* lanterns.

(The Asahi Shinbun Newspaper: English local edition, dated 3rd July 2007)

The above statement is from a local newspaper article introducing the Tankororin event. The organization of the event was initiated by a few members of the ATA's youth group with the aim of promoting tourism and revitalising town-making activities. In August 1995 the ATA had organised a similar festival of lights, the 'Manto-matsuri'. With 7,000 candles placed alongside the Asuke River, the Manto-matsuri festival was held only during the second weekend in *o-bon*⁴¹ when most of the area's emigrants temporarily returned to Asuke for a family reunion. However, although the Manto-matsuri festival attracted former residents and tourists, the profits of one weekend event were limited. In order to attract more tourists and increase tourism income in Asuke during the summer season, several members of

⁴⁰ The interviews were conducted with the representative, the public relations manager, poster designer and former ATA officer who actually made the Tankororin event happen in 2002. See more details in chapter four.

⁴¹ Buddhist festival period called *bon*. It is a festival to honour the departed spirits of people's ancestors. It has evolved into the opportunity to have a family reunion in post-war Japan.

the ATA's youth group, namely the Asuke Tourism 21st Century Club (hereafter AT21), attempted to create a two week-long night-lighting event that would illuminate the area's historical streetscapes.

The Tankororin event started with 200 Tankororin-lanterns placed in the Nishi-machi and Shin-machi districts of the town centre in 2002. After the photograph showing the streetscape illuminated by the lanterns was introduced by the Chūnichi Shinbun Newspaper (local newspaper of the Tōkai Metropolitan Area) on its cover page in summer 2002, local residents in the neighbourhood districts of Hon-machi, and Ta-machi participated in the event in 2003. As a result, the area of the event covered the greater part of Asuke's town centre. Every evening of the duration of the event, one or two Tankororin lanterns are placed in front of the entrance of each local residence and are lit by the residents before dark.

The Tankororin event is advertised by local newspapers and radios while the ATA's website and the Tankororin's own website provide the latest information about the event. The production of promotional visual materials is vital in advertising the event and attracting the locals' attention. A new Tankororin poster is produced every year and displayed inside and outside the town. Since 2005 the Tankororin event began taking part in a nationwide energy-saving event called 'Candle Night' organised by NGO groups. As an 'opening' event, the one-day Tankororin event is held on the second Saturday of June. A postcard is designed in the form of an invitation card for the 'Candle Night' event and distributed to local residents. Local residents are supposed to send them to relatives or friends to invite them to the Tankororin event in June.

Initially, the Tankororin events were organized voluntarily by some members of the AT21. Two years after the event started, the Tankororin event was honoured with an award for the revitalisation of the local community by the Foundation of the Toyota Shinkin Bank. On that occasion, the ST was organised as an independent local group which was in charge of making plans for and arranging the Tankororin event. The ST has 15 members (in 2008) and is composed of local residents and employees in

the town. Every year, the Tankororin event and the production of promotional materials such as posters and flyers is organised by the ST as an independent group.

6.3 Visualising Idealised Life

Tourism posters of the Tankororin event are designed and produced by the ST while the expenses for the production are subsidised by the ATA. The ST is in charge of most of the procedures in the production of the promotional visual materials as well as the organisation of the Tankororin event. The designs of all the posters are undertaken by a designer in the ST whereas the photographs for the posters are taken by a professional photographer.

The streets decorated with hand-made lanterns and their flickering lights are captured as an old streetscape in the poster production of the Tankororin. The photographs of the streetscape at twilight may help viewers to visualise the imaginative nostalgic scenery as the ‘Tankororin landscape’. In the following paragraph I discuss several examples of the Tankororin landscapes shaped by the imaginative geographies of contemporary nostalgia.

The narrow alley with white and black walls (figure 6.3), a traditional Japanese inn with wooden lattices (figure 6.4) and façades of old local residences (figure 6.5) are used to create a different scenery from other tourist landscapes in Kōrankei shown in chapters four and five. For instance, figure 6.3, the first poster of the Tankororin event, depicts the Manrin-kōji which has been a popular historical tourist landscape in Asume since the 1980s (see chapter five). A warm and nostalgic atmosphere is rendered to the narrow streets with the placing of Tankororin-lanterns alongside the walls and children dressed in summer kimonos playing with them. Figure 6.5 is also a popular historical landscape consisting of three continuous old residences with unique white façades, called ‘*tsumairi*’. The posters of the Tankororin event can be divided into seven elements: the background, the Tankororin-lanterns, the figures, captions, the Tankororin logo, a map of Asume, and other practical information

about the event. Since the Tankororin event highlights the historical townscape of the town's high street the posters do not include elements that would remind viewers of the natural beauty surrounding Asuke.

The hand-made lantern plays an important role in creating new nostalgic landscapes. 'Tankororin' is a colloquial term that describes a pottery lantern used during the Edo-Period known as '*hyōsoku*' (candle-holder) (see figure 6.6). Historically, it is said that *hyōsoku* were used in the Asuke Shrine and currently are displayed in the Asuke Museum. However, I argue that tourism discourses explaining the Tankororin event stress the locality rather than its historic quality. The ATA's website and the tourist pamphlets emphasise the lantern's uniqueness and local origins through a description of the event. These narratives also emphasise that all the materials come from the area and the lantern is made locally by residents of Asuke. For example, the website mentions that the bamboo strips that make up the lantern's framework are produced in Asuke, the paper that covers the framework is made by artisans from the folklore museum at Kōrankei whereas the candle-holders are produced by elderly residents:

The hand-made bamboo frameworks are displayed during the Tankororin event. Each framework is produced by local residents, splitting bamboos from Asuke. Papers to wrap the framework are made in *Sanshū Asuke Yashiki* (the folklore museum in Kōrankei), and the candle-stand placed inside the bamboo lantern is produced by local elderly in Asuke. The wavy light coming from this simple lantern gives you a sense of relief and nostalgia.

(Website of ATA)
(Translated by the author)

The above information with regards to the production of the lantern represents the involvement of the local community and the use of traditional products. Subsequently, the notion of 'local traditional techniques' inscribed into the hand-made lantern helps to construct the 'taste of Asuke'. By linking it with Asuke's traditional products the lantern becomes an icon.

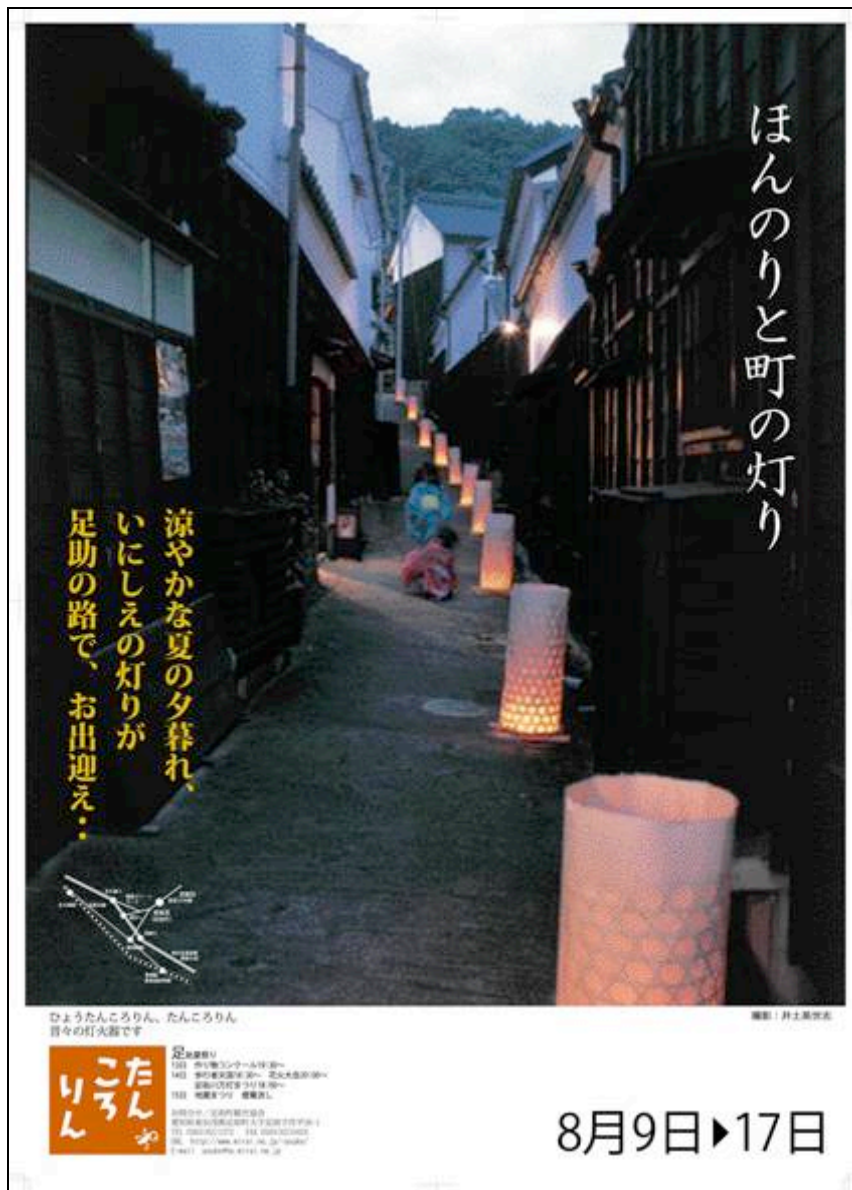


Figure 6.3: Narrow alley with white and black walls; Tankororin poster produced in 2003 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).



Figure 6.4: Traditional Japanese inn with wooden lattices; Tankororin poster produced in 2004 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).



Figure 6.5: White façades of the old local residences; Tankororin poster produced in 2007 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).



Figure 6.6: Hand-made candle-holder (*hyōsoku*) (photograph by the author)

Furthermore, although the setting of the event is inside the town's historical surroundings, the Tankororin does not focus on Asume's special character as a post town. I argue that the connection between the historical townscape and the credibility which derives from pre-modern style buildings is downplayed when a closer look at the visual language of the posters is taken.

The past is a potent force in the production of the Tankororin landscapes. In chapter five, we saw that the fame of Asume's historical townscapes was constructed in the 1980s through the reconstruction of the Edo style buildings. Moreover, the representations of Asume's historical townscapes attempted to convey an ambience of solitude by eliminating local residents and tourists from the images. In short, the object of the tourist gaze was old residences and their façades. However, I argue that the ideal landscape that the ST attempts to create is linked to Asume's everyday life of the past rather than the historical values of its townscapes. The designer, a man in his forties, mentioned that what he wanted to represent through the poster production is:

In the past, when dusk was falling, people used to go out during hot summer because we didn't have air-conditioners, so that the street was busier and had a cheerful atmosphere. I hope we could create an atmosphere like that, like middle age ladies with paper fans chatting together on the street, or children playing outside...

(Interview with the designer of the ST, 28th May 2008)

Specific images of the 'idealised life in Asume' are narrated by linking them to the 'forgotten past'. The public relations manager, also in his forties, emphasises:

Yeah, when we were kids, such lives definitely existed. As I was born in the 36th year of the Showa period (1961), I could remember life between around the end of the third decade of the Showa period (1960-1965) and the fourth decade of the Showa period (1965-1975), I think probably it existed, not probably, I'm sure it definitely existed.

(Interview with the public relations manager of the ST, 28th May 2008)

Similar accounts were also made by the representative of the ST, a man in his fifties:

Our ideal is the era of the third or fourth decade of the Showa period (1955-1974). I would hope people enjoy the cool evening breeze on a street, turning off air-conditioners, rather than staying inside home, working with PCs or children doing computer games...[when I was a kid], we, there were a lot of children and I got many classmates, so we never played inside home...but nowadays, it doesn't happen.

(Interview with the ST representative, 24th May 2008)

Such idealised lives of post-war Japan are enhanced by connecting them with the memory of past experiences and personal memories associated with people's childhoods. Based on memories of someone's childhood, the concept of an idealised life is narrated. The above statements make clear that childhood memories influenced the production of the 'good old days' in Asume through the Tankororin event.

My interview results showed that the production of the Tankororin landscapes is shaped by a strong sense of nostalgia which seeks for the lost past of 'Asume as a lively town'. Past experiences and childhood memories of the ST members are frequently used as strong vehicles in the legitimisation of such an 'idealised life'. Particularly, the third and fourth decades of the Showa period (1955-1975), when most of the ST members were going through their childhood, is constructed as the 'good old days in Asume'. The production of the Tankororin landscapes aims not only to satisfy the nostalgia of tourists but also to revive the 'forgotten past' of Asume.

The Tankororin posters are associated not only with the reconstruction of the 'good old days' but they also visualise the desirable future of town life; an everyday life that the ST members believe to have vanished from Asume at present. In his interview the designer of the ST said about the connections between his desirable future and the production of the Tankororin landscape: 'Besides, I think it [a photograph of the first poster (figure 6.3)] reflects our desire. Though it is related to all of the later poster productions, we've been hoping if people could walk in the town like this'. Similarly, the public relations manager mentioned:

What I want locals to feel and realise is (through the Tankororin event), actually, as we can remember, when we were kids, local residents came out around eight o'clock and stayed out chatting and bantering for about one hour while enjoying the cool evening breeze. How can I say, there used to exist such a small gathering, right? But, nowadays each house got an air-conditioner and people have stayed inside watching TV and as a result, nobody comes out...people coming during hot summer and enjoying the cool evening breeze, that is gone. I want locals to recall there was such situation like that.

(Interview with the public relations manager of the ST, 28th May 2008)

The above statement suggests that the Tankororin landscape is strongly connected not only with the reconstruction of the 'good old days' but also the revitalisation of neighbourliness or social 'connectedness'. The manager's goal with this event is to activate the local community spirit and revitalise social connections. The Tankororin poster, either consciously or unconsciously, resulted in the visualisation of the idealised life which mirrors the ST members' desirable futures. Thus, it can be said that the Tankororin posters reflect both the obsession with 'the good old day' in Asuke and the desirable future that ST members want to produce.

The figures of the posters reflect the 'idealised life in Asuke' that the ST attempted to create. As we have seen, all of the Tankororin posters produced so far include images of people mostly dressed in the cotton summer kimono called *yukata*. The people shown in the posters are an important element in the composition of nostalgic landscapes. Various generations are depicted in the posters. Figure 6.3 includes two children, playing in the alley and a poster produced in 2007 illustrates children playing baseball near the warm lights of the Tankororin-lanterns. Others show young females walking in front of the traditional Japanese inn or middle aged men playing Japanese chess on the road (figures 6.4 and 6.5).

According to the poster designer, the idea of arranging people in the photograph was proposed by the professional photographer when they were discussing the photograph for the first poster (figure 6.3). The initial idea for the first poster was to photograph the Manrin-kōji with the Tankororin-lanterns placed alongside the walls without people. However, in order to generate the atmosphere of the old town as a

living space and create the taste of ‘real life’, two girls wearing the cotton summer kimono were added in the composition. The designer said that: ‘well, simply speaking, it [putting people near the Tankororin-lantern on the alley] is definitely good. I think if there were no people in the townscape, it wouldn’t convey the atmosphere of the town’. As I discussed in an earlier section, what the designer calls ‘the atmosphere of the town’ is not the contemporary, actual lives in Asume but the ‘idealised life’ that the ST members hope to ‘bring back’. Moreover, the former ATA officer mentions the reason behind the presence of human figures in the poster: ‘yes, [because Asume] is a living town, a town of life’. Instead of stressing the historic qualities of the old residences and producing images of the town on its own, a ‘feeling of lively life in the old town’ is expressed in the Tankororin posters by including figures of people as if they are rambling or playing in the town.

Darkness should be considered as a crucial element of the Tankororin landscapes. When I asked the former ATA officer about the reason behind their decision to launch the night event, he emphasised the beauty of Asume’s evening by linking it to his personal memories related to one traditional festival in Asume:

Actually, nowadays, we have no time to walk in the town centre during the day because we are too busy to take a stroll. Instead, it’s in the evening. we, for local residents in Asume, we have a local festival, which is enjoyable and tough [to practice the festival performances]... rather tough for us... all in all, for us, the evening could symbolise the beauty of our town.

(Interview with former ATA officer of the ST, 7th April 2008)

The local festival, called Asume Matsuri, that he mentions here takes place in October every year and young locals living in the town centre have to train for the festival’s performances a couple of weeks in advance. The officer’s past experiences year after year, walking at night after the end of the training; are strongly linked to the image of Asume’s nightscape.

Additionally, the beauty of darkness is legitimised by the idea of ‘Japaneseness.’ Emphasising the importance of the darkness in beautifying the old streetscapes, the former ATA officer relates the Tankororin landscapes illuminated by the lanterns to the idea of ‘Japaneseness’:

I think that the darkness could definitely beautify the townscape. It conceals realities of a daily life, in a good sense...what I mean is, it is often said twilight of candles brings out the beauty of the lacquer-ware, isn't it? Perhaps, it is Japanese sense of beauty, though.

(Interview with the former ATA officer of the ST, 7th April 2008)

Here, the contrasting light and darkness are conceived as strong factors in creating the beauty of the old street by linking it to Japanese cultural references. The public relations manager also discusses the link between the Tankororin landscapes and 'Japaneseness':

We don't organise something very new every year, so that, rather than come to the Tankororin event to experience something special...I think...[the Tankororin landscapes] could tickle kind of Japanese DNA...I know contemporary young generation have never seen such landscapes but I hope the town would be a space where they could find something familiar...a space to relax them.

(Interview with the public relations manager of the ST, 28th May 2008)

Based on my interview results presented above it can be argued that the ST members employ the idea of 'Japaneseness' in order to valorise the Tankororin landscapes. Thus, 'Japaneseness' should be regarded as a key element in the inscription of nostalgic landscapes in contemporary Asuke.

Another point to be taken into account is that most of the figures depicted in the posters wear the Japanese summer kimono, *yukata*, although western style clothing is commonly worn in daily life by both men and women. In the production of touristic representations, the body and its appearance are key elements in the enhancement of cultural difference (MacCannell 1976[1999], Martinez 1990, Desmond 1997). Accounts of the former ATA officer showed that the idea of wearing the *yukata* derives from *geisha* girls who used to live in Asuke in the early part of the Showa era. He said: '[instead of arranging middle-aged people] to be honest, we were thinking about producing a picture showing a few girls dressed in the *yukata* [in the poster in 2007], rambling about the town...I heard that there had been a lot of *geisha* girls in the town and the town was very lively until around the

third decade of the Showa period (around 1955-1965)'. Costumes and their visibility of cultural specificity seem to convey 'authenticity' to the Tankororin landscapes as in the good old days in the past.

Throughout the period the Tankororin event has been taking place, a shift in motivation for its organisation can be observed; initially focusing on the promotion of tourism it has more recently aimed at appealing to local residents for the revitalisation of the town itself. The changes in the poster designs between 2003 and 2008 clearly reflect this shift. As the poster designer told in his interview, he changed his mind with regards to the theme of the Tankororin posters:

To be honest, I didn't think models in the posters were very important parts in the beginning (in 2003 and 2004), although I thought the photographs with the models were fantastic. Then, we began to think about 'what we want to capture?' in 2005, and we tried to change the perspective slightly, discussing with the photographer...it was quite good, but less movement of the people...in 2006, we wanted to show people looking at and having fun with the Tankororin lanterns, this (the background, pointing at 2006 poster) is actually wooden lattices of my Japanese inn, and I thought such situations would be nice for the poster. Well, since then, I began to think that we wanted to focus on 'people' in producing posters.

(Interview with the designer of the ST, 28th May 2008)

Initially the designer did not consider the presence of people and their importance in the depiction of the Tankororin event; for him the human figures were only one of the several elements of the photograph. Later on, however, his interest turned to the people themselves and he concentrated on depicting his idea of neighbourly interaction in his posters. The designer insists that the poster produced in 2006 (figure 6.7) is clearly different from the other posters. The close-up photograph of the two girls looking at the lanterns indicates that these two figures, which represent local residents, are the most important elements of the photographs leaving no space to depict the popular historical townscape. Other ST members also mention the importance of the revitalization of the town. For instance, the representative of the ST told me that: 'why don't you walk in the street around seven o'clock at night? [the author: do you mean nobody is walking after seven o'clock in the town?] well, this is a sort of revitalisation. I want to say to everyone, "let's go out of your houses,

instead of staying inside”’. Thus, their interest and motivation for the event came to be associated with how neighbourly interaction can be activated. The importance of the revival of the town was stressed in all the interviews with members of the ST.

One of the strategies the ST has taken up to attract local residents’ attention is the production and distribution of postcards of the Tankororin event for the summer solstice (figure 6.8). As I mentioned earlier, the postcards are distributed to local residents living in the town centre and are supposed to be used as invitations to the events for their relatives and friends. As the designer of the ST said: ‘in the last few years... we have thought we want to get our message across to locals, rather than to tourists’. Besides, the former ATA officer said that: ‘Well, I want to pass on what we [ST] are thinking to local residents...[the posters and captions printed on them are] messages for locals’. He further mentioned that the role of the posters and postcards of the Tankororin is to deliver the ST’s message to local residents. While the initial impetus of the organisation of the event was to attract tourists to come to the historical townscapes of Asume, the ST’s aims slowly turned to the making of a ‘lively town’ where neighbours often come out to chat with each other.

There is another shift in attitude toward the historical townscapes among the ST members. The former ATA officer related how he recognised the change in his way of seeing the surroundings of the town through the Tankororin posters. Since he grew up in the centre of the town, for him, the locations of the photographs are familiar places and constitute very mundane scenery. However:

Although all of the landscapes photographed portray our everyday life environments for us, once they became photographed by the professional, somehow... I feel it becomes a completely different place, completely unfamiliar, but a very nice place. I mean, the place turns out to be a place without any reality of life, different from where we live.

(Interview with the former ATA officer of the ST, 12th June 2008)



Figure 6.7: Two girls looking at the lanterns. Tankororin poster produced in 2006 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).



Figure 6.8: Postcard produced in 2009 (reproduced with the permission of the Asuke Tourism Association).

He mentioned his realisation of a difficulty identifying the exact locations of some Tankororin posters due to the camera angle used in the photographs. His comment reveals that the production of the Tankororin landscapes affected his ways of seeing his mundane environments. This is a shift in the way of seeing mundane landscapes – from the familiar to unfamiliar – through the ongoing process of the construction of the nostalgic gaze. The photographic representations of the nostalgic landscapes neutralise the gazes of the ST members. The production of the nostalgic landscapes parallels the re-formation of the viewing subject by appropriating it to the photographic gaze.

These discussions above can be extended to the process of self-exoticism and a sense of loss of Japanese cultural identity as I discussed in chapter three. The ST members might embody a self-orientalising gaze ‘that occurs when Japanese consciously or unconsciously make themselves into, or see themselves as, the objects of Western desire and imaginations’ (J. J. Tobin 1992a: 30). Shūhei Hosokawa discusses the dynamics in the formation of Japanese identity in the global activities of a contemporary all-Japanese salsa band (Hosokawa 1999). He points out that there is the interchangeability between ‘self-occidentalization’ and ‘self-orientalization’ with respect to construction of Japanese identities (Hosokawa 1999: 527). While the former refers to ‘becoming Other’, the latter is concerned with ‘looking at themselves as Other’. Ivy has also pointed out that such self-exoticism is found in the context of consumption in contemporary Japan (Ivy 1988).

The idea of self-orientalising is useful in understanding the formation of the viewing subject in the Tankororin landscapes. Wearing Japanese style cloths during the events seems to exemplify one of the ways in which people orientalise themselves. During the event period, some of the ST members dressed in Japanese casual clothes such as *samue* and *jinbei* appear on the high street. Furthermore, visitors are urged to come to Asume wearing Japanese summer cotton kimonos. My interview with the public relations manager revealed that appearing on the street dressed in Japanese clothing could influence the experiences and practices of the Tankororin landscapes:

[For me, wearing *samue* (Japanese casual clothes)] is a kind of preparation for welcoming visitors...by getting dressed, I put myself in the setting of the third decade of the Showa period I suppose, like 'Back to the Future'...Somehow, I might have merged myself into the Tankororin...But, I think actually nobody put on *samue* in the third decade of the Showa period, but, perhaps, in order to merge ourselves into the setting swiftly, we might have chosen *samue* so far.

(Interview with the public relations manager of the ST, 28th May 2008)

The manager is clearly aware of the discrepancy between real life in the third decade of the Showa period and contemporary life in Asume. However, I suggest that the specific style of dressing should be considered as an instrument in staging the old street as nostalgic tourist landscapes. People dressed in Japanese clothes, whether visitors or locals, are constitutive parts of the Tankororin landscape itself. Dressed in Japanese clothes, to appear on the street and to walk around town are important parts in the rendering of the nostalgic event. This issue will be discussed in the next section by a detailed examination of bodily displays in and with the Tankororin landscapes performed by multiple social actors.

6.4 Practices of Idealised Japanese Landscapes

Inspired by Desmond's discussion on bodies on display in Hawaiian tourism (Desmond 1999), in this section I focus on practices of the Tankororin landscapes by different actors, and discuss how bodily display helps to produce a contemporary Japanese atmosphere which the Tankororin event attempts to create. I also pay attention to intersecting social positions that are activated through walking and gazing practices in the old streetscapes.

One of the main attractions of the Tankororin is a number of performances organised by the ST. An official flyer produced by the ST consists of a walking map and the arrangement of the Tankororin lanterns on the streets and an introduction to the various performances that take place during the event period. The performances are not limited to the local, traditional arts of Asume; Japanese traditional music and

comic story-telling as well as western music are also offered to tourists and local residents every night throughout the event period. For example, Asuke's ritual music played by locals, Okinawa *shamisen* from the Okinawa region in Japan, Tsugaru *shamisen* from the north of Japan, Celtic harp and Portuguese guitar are some of the performances that take place. Tourists and local residents are invited to wander about the old streets illuminated by the Tankororin-lanterns and to make a brief stop to watch and enjoy some of the performances organised by the ST. Similarly, the ATA's website uploads the official map and schedule of these performances and several images of the previous Tankororin events while it introduces the background of the Tankororin-lantern and the event.

During the Tankororin event, both the interior and the exterior of the old residences are transformed into a stage for the performances. For instance, the Japanese *tatami* room (straw-mat room) in the Tamadaya Japanese inn (*ryokan*), built at the end of the Edo period, is transformed into a stage where Celtic harp music is performed by placing a number of candles on a table (figure 6.9). Additionally, the façades of the old residences are used as a backdrop to the performances. Several music performances are played in front of the old residences' façades composed of wooden lattices and/or bamboo blinds that stress a 'Japanese atmosphere'. The important point here is that settings of the performances help to produce historical and nostalgic renditions linked to the early period of post-war Japan. The designs and façades of old residences, shops and public properties reconstructed in a 'traditional design', as I discussed in chapter five, generate an atmosphere of the idealised rural life that the Tankororin posters have visualised. They are not merely places to perform traditional or western music but also constitutive parts of the production of that atmosphere.



Figure 6.9: Interior of a *tatami* room in a Japanese inn (photograph by the author).



Figure 6.10: Performance of ritual music of Asuke (photograph by the author).

With the assistance of the architectural emphasis of a ‘Japanese atmosphere’, the music performers’ bodies also help to create the unique atmosphere of the street. In her discussion of contemporary Hawaiian tourist shows, Desmond stresses how the bodily presence of certain live performers in the commercial tourist shows functions ideologically (Desmond 1997). Moreover, in her analysis of bodily display on the early nineteenth century street, Jane Rendell states that: ‘in the urban world of consumption, bodies can display “tastes” which, through relations of imitations, distinction and domination, can mediate gender and class positions. Taste is embodied, it is inscribed onto the body and made apparent in body size, volume, demeanour, sitting, speaking, gesture’ (Rendell 1998: 85). Performers’ bodies and their presence can be conceived as a powerful tool in inscribing ideology through their visibility. Thus it can be argued that the performers’ bodies become a public display by adopting a specific style of dressing, such as the Japanese summer kimono. In the Tankororin event, irrespectively of the type of performance, some of the performers are dressed in the *yukata* or other Japanese clothing. For instance, figure 6.10 shows a performance of Asuke’s ritual music played by young locals. Dressed in the Japanese style of clothing that is usually worn on the occasion of traditional festivals, their bodily presence evokes ‘Japaneseness’ through its visibility while their ritual music intensifies the ‘Japanese atmosphere’.

Figures 6.11 and 6.12 could serve as two examples of bodily display during the Tankororin event. Figure 6.11 depicts a performance of Portuguese guitar with a singer dressed in the *yukata*, using a Japanese old residence as background. Figure 6.12 shows one female musician dressed in the *yukata* playing the Celtic harp. In connection to figure 6.10, these two images reveal that the bodily displays of the performers, in particular the use of the *yukata*, help visualising ‘Japaneseness’. Remarkably, however, both images depict western style rather than Japanese traditional music (songs and musical instruments). While their bodily displays garbed in Japanese style clothes emphasise a Japanese atmosphere, their performances convey unfamiliar western music.



Figure 6.11: Performance of Portuguese guitar and songs (photograph by the author).

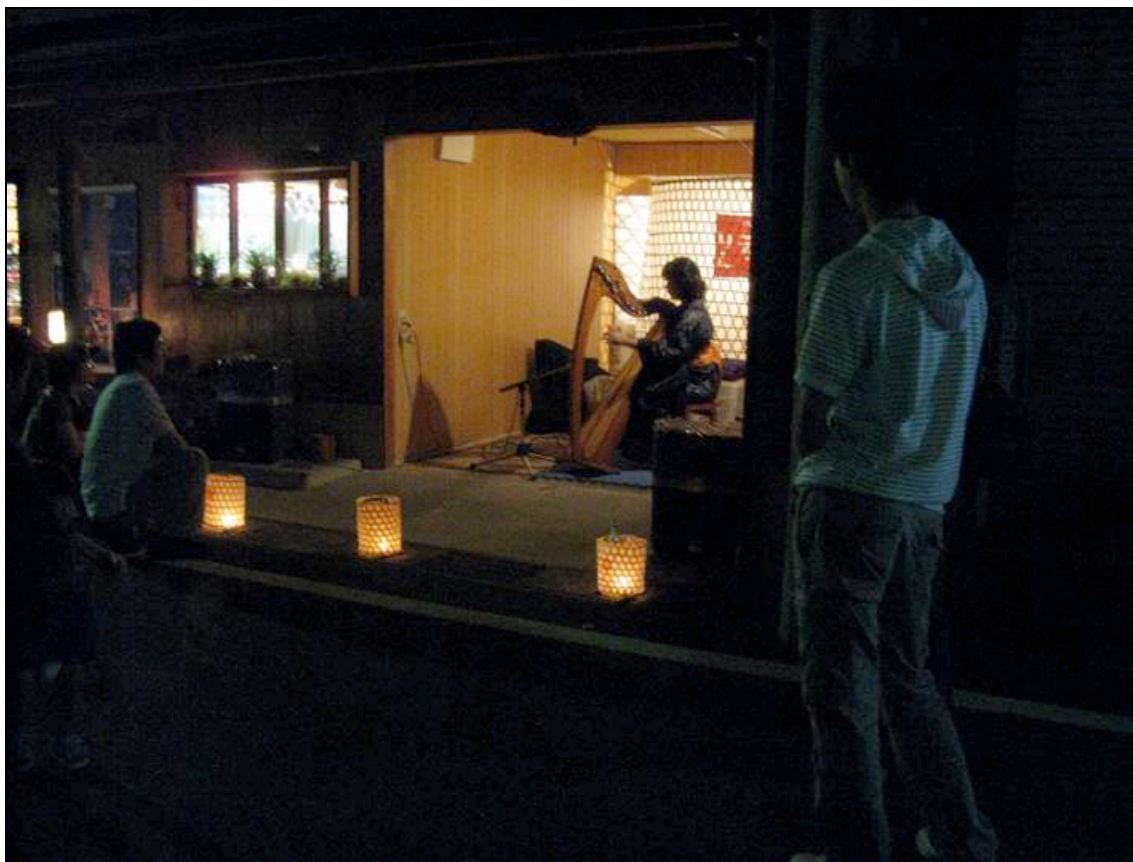


Figure 6.12: Performances of Celtic harp (photograph by the author).



Figure 6.13: One of the members of the ST dressed in *jinbei* (photograph by the author).

Although this seems incongruous, the designer of the Tankororin posters claimed that one of the main features of the Tankororin event is its mixture of western and Japanese cultures⁴². He mentioned that the poster and postcards of 2009 (figure 6.8) clearly illustrated the fusion of the two different values. The 2009 postcard and poster show one female musician dressed in the *yukata* playing *shamisen* (a Japanese instrument) on the street and four other people garbed in the *yukata* looking at her. However, one of the *yukata* persons present in the poster is actually holding a Portuguese guitar in his hand. The designer stressed that the co-occurrence of the Japanese *shamisen* and Portuguese guitar symbolises the uniqueness of the Tankororin. Instead of depicting only objects that symbolise ‘Japaneseness’, the designer chose to juxtapose two different values that represent the mixture of contemporary rural life. The Tankororin makes use of both the past of Japan and foreign cultures to create a ‘taste of Asuke’s life’. Foreign cultures in particular are transformed into a symbol which helps to establish the ‘Japaneseness’ and uniqueness of Asuke.

In addition to the performers’ dressing, bodily displays of ‘Japaneseness’ can also be observed in the ways the ST members and tourists are dressed. Some of the members are willing to put on Japanese clothes called *samue* or *jinbei* (casual Japanese clothes) (figure 6.13) while others wear T-shirts on which the words ‘the Tankororin’ are imprinted. Compared to the performers’, the organisers’ bodies do not seem to attract a lot of attention since they keep busy with setting up stages for the performances and maintaining the Tankororin lanterns placed on the streets.

Nevertheless, the role of the tourists’ bodies is more crucial in the public display of ‘Japaneseness’ in the Tankororin event. According to the public relations manager of the ST, tourists are strongly encouraged to wear the *yukata* when they visit the event. For example, the ST offers free hand-made paper fans with an illustration of the Tankororin streetscape to tourists dressed in the *yukata*. Figure 6.14 shows some tourists dressed in the *yukata*, one of them holding the paper fan in her hands, walking on the street during the event. While the bodies of the performers are

⁴² From an interview with the designer in August 2009.

relatively motionless, the tourist bodies are actively engaged in the inscription of the Tankororin landscapes by moving around on the street. Thus, the Tankororin landscapes are performed and marked by the tourists' mobile bodies. Desmond notes that local residents in Waikiki, Hawaii, add authenticity to the tourist show of 'native Hawaiian' and tourist experiences (Desmond 1997). In the Tankororin event, multiple social actors, such as the event organizers, the invited performers and tourists, enhance the staged 'idealised rural life' in Asuke with the presence of their dressed bodies on public display.

The above discussion leads us to the issue of the multiple social positions of gazers and gazed in tourism space. Urry states that: 'tourism is often about the body-as-seen, displaying, performing and seducing visitors with skill, charm, strength, sexuality and so on' while tourists are also 'the body-viewer or body-mover' (Urry 2002: 156). Rendell also discusses the exchange of looks and gazes in the early nineteenth century street (Rendell 1998). She states that the urban male Rambler desires to look at as well as to be looked: 'he demands a visual reciprocity with other men as part of a homosocial system of social exchange' (1998: 85). Figures 6.15 and 6.16 are typical examples of tourists as gazers. Figure 6.15 shows a tourist-photographer; with a camera, tripod and a rucksack on his back, his performative role as a gazer on the street is played out. However, I argue that two shifting social positions – the gazer and the gazed – exist within the same person (Minca 2007b). The role of the tourists and their bodies shifts between that of the gazer and the gazed. Tourists garbed in the *yukata* can be objects of the tourist gaze while at the same time they view and gaze on the Tankororin landscapes through their handy cameras. A clear-cut distinction between the gazer and the gazed in and with the Tankororin landscapes seems impossible.



Figure 6.14: Tourists wearing Japanese summer kimonos (photograph by the author).



Figure 6.15: Tourist-photographer in the Tankororin event (photograph by the author).



Figure 6.16: Tourist-photographers in the Tankororin event (photograph by the author).

Conclusion

One of the aims of this chapter was to examine the contemporary image-making activities of a tourist place initiated by the local group. I have demonstrated the power of nostalgia, in the context of Japanese domestic tourism, to create new nostalgic landscapes and add new meanings to tourist landscapes. In particular, special attention was given to the photographic strategies of the Tankororin posters in order to investigate the ways in which the ‘idealised rural life in Asume’ is created. It was shown that the expression of ‘the idealised rural life’ is legitimised by narratives of the ‘good old days’ in Asume and the ST members’ childhood memories.

Drawing from my interview data, the detailed analysis of the visual rhetoric of the tourism posters in my study revealed that there is a strong connection between the visualisation of the ‘idealised rural life’ the ST attempt to create and the notion of ‘Japaneseness’. While my research has showed that there is a shift in aims for the organisation of the Tankororin, they also revealed a shift in the attitude towards the historical townscapes among the ST members. It was shown that the ongoing process of the construction of the nostalgic gaze helps to de-familiarise the ways of seeing mundane landscapes and neutralise the gazes of the ST members. I argued that self-exoticism is a key element in the dynamics of the re-formation of the viewing subject in the production of nostalgic landscapes.

The final section focused on the practices of nostalgic landscapes performed by the event organisers, invited performers and tourists. Based on my visual ethnographic observations of the Tankororin event, I discussed how the material designs and the façades of old residences of the historical townscape help to create an ‘atmosphere of Japaneseness’. Old buildings and public properties are transformed into ‘proper’ stages to perform the Tankororin landscapes. My visual ethnography also revealed that the dressed body is a constitutive part of the production of the Tankororin landscapes.

The discussion in the chapter has also showed in which ways the atmosphere of the Tankororin is created. It demonstrated that the embodied practices and performances such as walking in the old streets and wearing the yukata help to create the Tankororin landscapes and its distinctive atmosphere. As discussed in chapter one, looking at the embodied practices and performances help to advance interpretations of the process of 'landscaping' or practice of landscape. The empirical findings in the chapter suggest that the presence of the local residents and tourists wearing Japanese cloths are constitutive parts of the Tankororin landscape and its atmosphere. But also, their movement helps to create the Tankororin atmosphere. Local residents and tourists transform themselves as the object of tourist gaze into the Tankororin landscape through their mobility while the old buildings and its design are indispensable elements in the production of an atmosphere of the Tankororin landscape. The presence of tourists and their movements in the old streetscapes decorated by local residents with hand-made lanterns is processual and a performative part of the Tankororin landscapes and its atmosphere.

By concentrating on bodily displays and movements, I showed that the practices of the Tankororin landscapes enacted by different social actors allow analysing the fluidity of the different social positions of the gazing subject. Based on my ethnographic observations, I suggested that a clear division between the gazer and the gazed in the practices of tourist landscape is blurred, and that exchanges of looks and gazes take place through mobility.

Chapter Seven

Performing Natural Landscapes in Asume: Practices of Domestic Tourism and Interactions with Nature

Introduction

This chapter attempts to discuss the ongoing process of consumption of natural landscapes of Kōrankei constructed by the local tourism authority. By focusing on two different nature viewing themes – red autumn leaves and dogtooth violets – I aim at investigating how Asume's constructed visibility and materiality are gazed and performed by contemporary individual tourists. In this context, I regard Kōrankei as an emblematic example of tourist landscapes constructed by a local tourism authority. Particular attention is placed upon the relationship between the materiality of space, touristic visual images, and photographic performances at landscaped sites. By looking at texts and images in tourism-related visual materials, such as official pamphlets and posters, the following discussion highlights the contemporary inscribing and staging of natural settings in Asume. An analysis of tourist performances undertaken at each site also takes place in this chapter. Using visual ethnographies, a variety of corporeal movements, gestures, and experiences enacted by tourists during photography are examined.

One of the characteristics of the modernisation of landscape experiences and representations in Japan is the strong influence of 'traditional' approaches to

landscapes. However, as discussed in chapters two and three, certain social groups had added new meanings and sensibilities to the Japanese natural landscapes. Shiga's masterpiece, his followers and the Discover Japan campaign helped revolutionise the meanings and practices of landscape in Japan by both devaluating 'traditional' landscape aesthetics and introducing new sensibilities and practices. The case study of Asuke as a contemporary *meisho* will help illustrate the cultural practices of landscape experiences and representations in contemporary Japan. At the same time this study shows how the traditional ways of seeing are 'recycled' by contemporary tourist organisations and the tourists themselves.

An additional aim of this chapter is to offer evidence for explaining through photography what Japanese tourists actually do and gaze upon. While research on photographic practices has paid attention to western tourists' photography (Crawshaw and Urry 1997; 1998, Suvantola 2002, Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004, Minca 2007b), empirical work that focuses on Asian tourists' photographic practices is still sparse (except Edensor 1998, Yeh 2008). It also aims to show that the complexities of meanings of landscape experiences and gestures of interaction with nature in domestic Japanese tourism by comparing two different nature viewing themes.

In order to explore 'what actually happens at sites' and 'what tourists are actually doing at sites', I conducted two intensive 'visual ethnographies' of two different photographic performances in Kōrankei: a) red autumn leaf viewing, and b) dogtooth violet viewing. As part of my research, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 'tourist-photographers' at several places while collecting photographs taken by tourists on-site (the details of the ethnographic methods and results were discussed in chapter four. The interview list is attached at the end of this chapter).

7.1 Performing Photography: Red Autumn Leaf Viewing

An official B4-size pamphlet introducing the details of red autumn leaf viewing at

Kōrankei, produced by the ATA, is distributed at several places, including public parking spaces and tourist facilities, during autumn (November and early December), the season of red autumn leaves (figure 7.1). While the backside of the pamphlet/map introduces Asuke's other tourist attractions (i.e. historical townscapes, a flower garden with dogtooth violets in spring), its front page features activities related to red autumn leaf viewing. The pamphlet proposes seven viewing points worth visiting, each of which is briefly described; in total 13 images with short descriptions suggest to the prospective tourists 'where to see' and 'how to enjoy' red autumn leaves. Walking for viewing nature in Kōrankei is strongly recommended by the ATA as the main tourist practice in contemporary red autumn viewing in Asuke. Tourists are invited to do various kinds of activities while walking around Kōrankei. The map, shows tourists where to see and photograph, and how to stay and behave during their leisure walks in Kōrankei.

The text and photographs of the map describe the different types of red autumn leaves' beauty at Kōrankei with information on the best time to see 'beautiful red autumn leaves' throughout the day. For example, one description stresses the beauty of red leaves on a path called 'tunnel of red autumn leaves' when exposed to the afternoon sun (figure 7.1). On another occasion, special attention is given to a maple tree which delights tourists' eyes with its gradual change of the colours of its leaves.

Multiple other activities that involve corporeal movements and practices are introduced in the pamphlet's texts and images. For instance, the map proposes looking at the red autumn leaves on the riverside, having lunch on benches and viewing the red autumn leaves and water surface of the Tomoe River while sitting down at the riverside. Tourists are invited to enjoy a variety of activities, not only walking through the maple trees on a path but also tasting local foods, having lunch at the riverside while enjoying Kōrankei's natural environment. The freely distributed official pamphlet shows that nature viewing activities at Kōrankei are more than merely a 'viewing of nature' as an object of the tourist gaze. It is also a set of performances linked to red autumn leaf viewing. The map provides imaginative walking experiences and views through photography and descriptions.

Thus, it can be argued that Kōrankei's red autumn leaf viewing is a multifaceted embodied practice that takes place within a natural setting. Together with walking and viewing red autumn leaves, various activities are encouraged by the local tourism organisation.



Figure 7.1: Official map on red autumn leaf viewing (reproduced with the permission of the Asume Tourism Association).

7.1.1 Performance and Experience in Kōrankei

The majority of tourists visiting Asuke begin their walk towards the Taigetsu-kyō Bridge and the inner side of the Kōrankei valley by strolling along a narrow street where several small food stands and souvenir shops are located. Actually, the first view most tourists encounter when arriving in Kōrankei is this crowded street rather than the natural mountainous scenery with its colourful autumn leaves (figure 7.2). Mt. Iimori covered in a vast amount of red autumn leaves appears only after one leaves the street. It takes around one and a half hours to walk along the main paths, to see the viewing spots recommended by the official pamphlet (time spent in restaurants/caferias and the open-air museum located within Kōrankei is not included).

Several types of tourists are encountered at Kōrankei in autumn: family tourists (especially young families with babies and/or small children), young and elderly couples, young and elderly groups, tour-bus tourists (most of them are elderly people), and solo tourists. Groups or family tourists constitute the dominant tourist type while few single tourists, who seem to have no travel companions, can also be seen. Most family tourists arrive at the site during the weekend whereas most young couples visit Kōrankei in the evening when outdoor illumination for red autumn viewing takes place⁴³. The vast majority of tourists have at least one camera and very few couples or groups tour the site without holding cameras. A variety of cameras such as handy digital cameras, mobile and single-lens reflex cameras (hereafter SLR cameras) with small or big tripods were observed. It seems that the camera is the most essential tool in experiencing Kōrankei.

⁴³ The outdoor illumination of Kōrankei for tourists takes place between the 1st and the 30th of November since 1988.



Figure 7.2: Souvenir shops and small stands selling foods (photograph by the author).

The results of research indicate that there are two dominant objects to be gazed by tourists at Kōrankei: a) red autumn leaves as nature, and b) tourists themselves. According to my interview data, each interviewee takes between 5 and 30 photographs depicting either themselves with red autumn leaves in the background or the red autumn leaves on their own. Therefore Kōrankei can be considered as a place where one can perform and produce different gazes, experiences and imaginative geographies through the simultaneous act of viewing and photographing. In the remainder of the chapter I investigate how the two different gazes are enacted at Kōrankei.

The bridge is the first photographed site that the official pamphlet proposes to visit. Today, many tourists pose for their perfect pictures between red autumn leaves, the Bridge parapet and the Tomoe River with the mountains in the background. As I have discussed in chapter five, the Bridge is an important symbol of Kōrankei and Asuke and a powerful view-making ‘device’ of Asuke’s tourist landscapes. In fact, it is the most crowded space at Kōrankei during autumn (figure 7.3). The Bridge, with its 3.5m width, is packed with tourists, who are often stuck in the middle. My research supports the observation that the Bridge is powerful in immobilising the tourist flows.

Many tourists attempt to take photographs on or/and nearby the Bridge. Irrespective of how busy and crowded the Bridge is, tourists nimbly find the space and time to capture shots on the Bridge or with it in front of the red autumn leaves covered mountains. People often stop briefly in order to photograph not only the ‘beautiful scenery’ that the Kōrankei valley offers but also their travelling companions. It seems that tourists sense that the Bridge is the right place for photographs, especially of the mountains covered with colourful leaves, to be taken (see Minca 2007b).



Figure 7.3: Taigetsu-kyō Bridge at Kōrankei (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.4: Photographic performance at the Bridge (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.5: Photographing red autumn leaves with the Bridge on the Bridge (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.6: Shooting from the Bridge (photograph by the author).

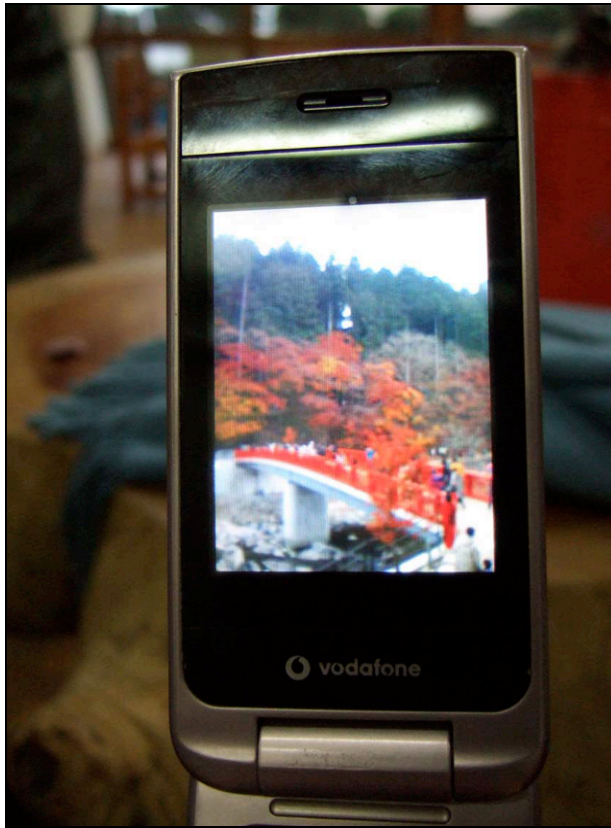


Figure 7.7: Tourist's photograph of the Bridge and red autumn leaves (photograph by the author).

Specifically, on the bridge or sometimes on the edge of the bridge is where many tourists choose to take their photographs. The following figures show how typical photographic performances take place on the Bridge (figure 7.4). Tourist photographs are usually composed of several elements: the Bridge, trees with colourful leaves on the bank, the sky and often the tourists themselves. Some tourists prefer to photograph themselves in the middle of the bridge with the mountains as a background (figure 7.5). Others stand in the middle of the Bridge and use it as a place from which to shoot natural views (figure 7.6). Interestingly, the majority of tourists taking their shots near the bridge try to include at least one part of the red bridge in their photographs. No matter where they stand to capture their shots, the Bridge itself or a part of it is the essential element of every tourist photograph taken in Kōrankei. My interview data reveals that the Bridge is the most popular component in everyone's pictures. Most of my interviewees stated that their pictures included red autumn leaves and the Bridge (figure 7.7). This makes clear that the Bridge, as the symbol of Kōrankei, plays a key role in producing tourists' photographs during the red autumn leaf viewing activity.

In addition to the Bridge and the viewing spots which the walking map offers, tourists are actively involved in photographic performances at several places within Kōrankei. The wide riverside of Tomoe River is a principal stage of photographic performances for all kinds of tourists. The main performance is well-organised bus-tour photography that is performed again and again throughout the day (figure 7.8). After waiting on the path, bus-tour tourists are guided to a photography platform on the riverside by professional photographers who shout 'mind your step!'. Led by the photographers, people are lined up, smile and are photographed with a sign showing the word, 'Kōrankei'. This 'ritual' is enacted in the middle of the riverside. This performance can be understood as a 'team performance' that Edensor describes as follows:

As a highly directed operation, with guides and tour managers acting as choreographers and directors, the performance is repetitive, specifiable in movement, and highly constrained by time. Besides acting out their own part in the drama by photographing, gazing and moving en masse according to

well-worn precedent the group also absorb the soliloquies of the central actors, the guides, who enact the same script at each performance.

(Edensor 1998: 65)

Here, the professional photographers who guide bus-tour tourists to the photography platform act as ‘directors’. They repeatedly shout the same lines: ‘mind your step,’ ‘make a smile,’ ‘move your hat upwards’. Although the photographers follow and repetitively perform the same scripts, tourists are not allowed to perform different scripts. Their performances are strongly regulated in time and space in the enactment of bus-tour photography.

Individual tourists too actively enact their photographic performances at the riverside (figures 7.9-7.11). In such a widely open space, tourists can have a distanced view and choose their favourite camera angle and position (figures 7.9 and 7.10). Freed from the busy and packed Bridge, tourists invest time in creating pleasing photographs with the symbolic Bridge or the mountains in the background. They search for places to shoot their best images or simply to stand and pose for photographs. By placing emphasis on selecting the locations and compositions of their shots, individual tourists produce their personalised images of Kōrankei landscapes.

During my fieldwork I noticed that many tourists attempted to photograph themselves near the photography platform (figure 7.11). For instance, after the bus-tour photography was taken, some of the tourists in the bus tour attempted to take their own pictures on the platform. Other individual tourists also stand on the platform to capture themselves with the platform empty. Although the platform has been placed there for the ‘benefit’ of bus-tour tourists, it often provides individual tourists with a stage to produce their own pictures of Kōrankei. Individual tourists are aware that the riverside and the platform provide the ideal location for the production of the ‘best’ images with the Bridge in the background.



Figure 7.8: Bus-tour tourist photography (photograph by the author).

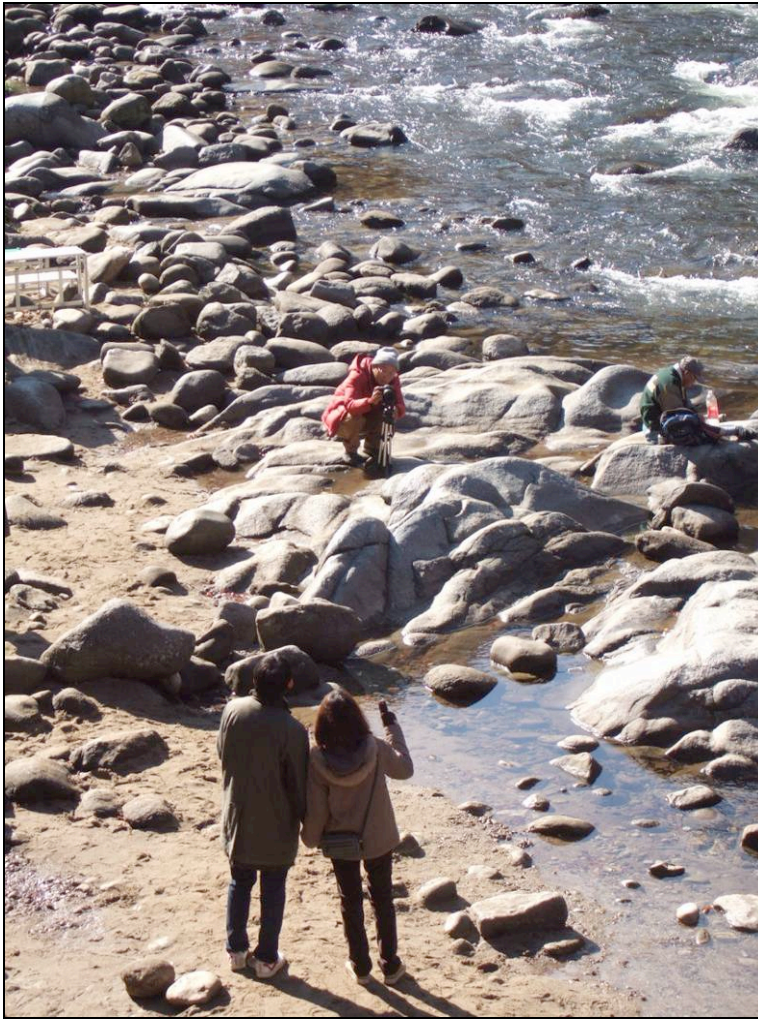


Figure 7.9: Individual tourist photographic performance 1 (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.10: Individual tourist photographic performance 2 (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.11: Individual tourist photographic performance 3 (photograph by the author).

In the photographic performances of both bus-tour and individual tourists, natural landscapes with the Bridge become the backdrop to the team performances. The Bridge is a salient component in the scenery of their photographic performances and the riverside is staged for bus-tour photography. This enduring image, composed of the Bridge and the mountains covered with colourful leaves, is transformed into a stage for tourist photography to take place.

Another observation of my fieldwork is that tourists in Kōrankei have a strong desire to capture a beautiful moment of red autumn leaves. Photographing red autumn leaves was the conspicuous and common act observed in Kōrankei, as my observations and interviews revealed. Shots are, of course, taken in various places on the bridges across the Tomoe River, paths, the riverside, and restaurants/cafes. All kinds of tourists seem keen to produce nice moments of red autumn leaves in Kōrankei. While most of them take photographs of their travelling companions, it appears that photographing red autumn leaves is their main priority.

The act of framing red autumn viewing is the most conspicuous performance at Kōrankei (figures 7.12 and 7.13). Clearly capturing the desired images of red autumn leaves is a solitary photographic performance. Larsen argues that ‘romantic gazing’ performances are often enacted in solitude ‘even when sightseeing with “significant others”’ (Larsen 2004: 128). The romantic gazing performances enacted by Japanese tourists in Kōrankei follow this pattern. Although most of them have travelling companions, such as friends and family members, tourist-photographers are alone when gazing upon the red autumn leaves. However, as all of the figures in this section show, tourists in Kōrankei are completely surrounded by other tourists, to such an extent that it is almost impossible to find a place where no tourist is present, especially during autumn. My observations show that the solitary performance of gazing red autumn leaves is actually enacted in noisy, lively, and hectic environments, namely on the Bridge or near the busy narrow street. Subsequently, photographic performances in Kōrankei are never enacted in solitude.



Figure 7.12: Framing red autumn leaves at the riverside (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.13: Framing red autumn leaves (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.14: ‘Looking up’, framing red autumn leaves (photograph by the author).

However, my interviews reveal that the tourists are not annoyed by the presence of other tourists. As I will discuss later, some tourists very patiently wait for other tourists to pass by between their camera and their photographic objects. In addition, no interviewees complained that their photographic practices were disturbed by other tourists; some even mentioned that they tried not to include other tourists in their shots. One elderly tourist said that the photographic performances of others are useful in finding nice locations and moments: ‘almost everybody took pictures in similar places, and then, I noticed, oh, this place must be the best location for photography. There are such places, aren’t there? ...then, I thought, ok, I’ll take mine here, too’ (elderly male travelling with his partner, Interview 1-1).

The performance of gazing at red autumn leaves produces certain postures amongst tourists of which ‘looking up’ is the most common. Figure 7.14 illustrates some of the tourist-photographers’ physical actions of capturing the natural beauty of red autumn leaves. Sunlight is the essential element in the making of beautiful images. Lifting their arms to focus on the shining leaves illuminated by the sunlight, people try to capture beautiful shots composed of these two features. The resemblance of the postures between tourists is clear. What they are focusing on is the same object; red autumn leaves illuminated by the sunshine.

The ‘looking up’ posture is linked to the perception of the red autumn leaves’ beauty illuminated by the afternoon sunshine, at the moment when the afternoon sun comes out. The interviews reveal tourists’ strong desire to create beautiful images of this theme. As one elderly couple said: ‘yes, I wanted to produce images of beautiful river, riverside and autumn leaves...the colour of the red leaves is so vivid here...(male interviewee, Interview 1-3), ‘well, [the leaves are] illuminated by the afternoon sun, and sun streaming through leaves...though the weather today is not so good’ (female interviewee, Interview 1-3). Another female tourist said: ‘[I wanted to take pictures of] beautiful luminous colours of red autumn leaves that sunlight generates’ (Interview 1-9). Although the tourists themselves seem to be aware of the beauty of this theme, it is worth noting that the beauty of the leaves ‘stroked’ by the sunlight is highly accentuated by the official map.

This finding elucidated the fact that tourists give credence to the beauty of red autumn leaves highlighted by the afternoon sunshine through their photographic practices. Tourists produce and reproduce images of the ‘sun kissed’ leaves similar to those that are proposed by ATA. However, it should be noted that the tourists themselves popularise the ‘proper’ moment of red autumn leaves in Kōrankei. They learn how, when and where to capture their desired shots by observing other tourists’ photographic performances while walking on a path, chatting with their friends/families and viewing nature. Larsen argues that romantic gazing practices and their photography by individual tourists constitute parts of a ‘*hermeneutic circle*’ (Larsen 2004: 129). Tourist-photographers in Kōrankei accentuate the image of the ‘sun kissed’ leaves by ritually seeing and photographing them. They view and photograph landscapes in a determined way. As Osborne explains: ‘the repetition of the same gesture – photographing the photographed – forms part of the ritual behaviour of tourism, a choreography of mostly foreknown movements and encounters’ (Osborne 2000: 85).

The gaze that focuses on family members or friends produces different photographic performances and experiences from the gaze focusing on nature. The ‘family gazing practices’, which shed light on family social relations (Haldrup and Larsen 2003), is another major form of photographic performances at Kōrankei. My fieldwork revealed that people at Kōrankei have a strong desire to capture themselves with the red autumn leaves and/or the Bridge in the background. As I have already mentioned, the majority of people visiting Kōrankei are groups and couples. As I. M. Daniels stresses in her research on Japanese domestic tourism, sociability is a key element in understanding Japanese tourist experiences (I. M. Daniels 2001a: 123). Personal social relations between friends and family members are necessary in the discussion of photography and landscape experiences in the practices of Japanese domestic tourism.

In Kōrankei, in addition to colourful autumn leaves, the tourists themselves, their friends and family members become photographic objects. As I have shown, tourists mainly take shots of the ‘well-known’ natural scenery from the Bridge. However, the tourist-photographer as a beholder naturally turns his/her gaze and attention to

his/her travelling companions, friends and family members. All members of the accompanying groups are involved in the act; tourists photograph each other in several locations and backgrounds with the two roles between photographer and photographed being regularly shifted.

It is often observed that the photographic performances related to the family gaze are ‘endlessly’ replayed until they succeed in producing perfect pictures (figure 7.15). Digital cameras enable tourists to prepare their photogenic smiles and posing at the moment of photographing and evaluate the quality of their photographs on-site. The act of checking the taken photographs is an ordinary scene in Kōrankei.

The endless and repetitive photographic performances by family or group tourists are particularly common in Kōrankei. One elderly couple repeatedly checked their taken shots and tried to produce nicer images of them. As the elderly male said to his partner: ‘the size of the figures is too big,’ then they took another photograph and checked it again, and he said again: ‘oh, the size of the figures is still too big’ (overheard conversation). Thanks to the development of digital camera technology, tourists are able to continue their photographic performances until they gain the desired images. Figure 7.15 shows a father repeatedly taking photographs with the other family members, mother and children, checking the images taken over and over again. Shooting, checking and evaluating are omnipresent behaviours that constitute the photographic performances of family gaze. For example, one interviewee (female tourist with her baby and baby’s grandmother) said that she usually photographs one particular image several times in order to produce the best shot, ‘[I usually] photograph five or six of the same [location and composition of my child] at one time because camera shaking often happens. I would save the best one of them on my PC’ (Interview 1-9). Thus, parents seem very keen to take the time to prepare their ideal family members’ shots and keep taking photographs until they are completely satisfied with the result.



Figure 7.15: ‘Endless’ family photographic performances (photographs by the author).

Great patience and tolerance characterise the photographic performances of parents. Larsen notices that the making of “proper” family gaze images requires work, patience and skills’ (Larsen 2004: 134). In particular, being patient is the primary skill in performing family gaze within Kōrankei’s crowded environment. For instance, a young couple with a baby were clearly patient and passionate in producing and creating nice images with their baby (for example, see figure 7.16). I observed the whole sequence of their family gaze enactment: the father was about to take a photograph of the mother holding her baby while several tourists kept passing in front of them. Despite the disturbance, the parents patiently and neatly waited to take their ideal shot.

Parents are also keen to produce ‘better’ images with their babies. My observations indicate that they are patient enough to try various poses and compositions. For instance, one young couple attempted to produce several different photographs. The father’s glasses were removed and put aside while the mother-photographer placed her bag on the ground before taking pictures. Then, the father changed several body positions, finally moving into the inner side of the riverside. This is a representative example of the father’s desire to create nice shots of himself with his baby. The father actively acts as an object of the family gaze and he makes his baby a family gaze object too.

Similar to the crucial role babies have as a photographic object, small children are also major objects of the family gaze, especially for parents and/or grandparents. One grandmother with her daughter and granddaughter states: ‘we had about 10 photographs today... [today’s theme of photography] is “me and granddaughter with a view of red autumn leaves”’ (Interview 1-9). Small children actively participate in the making of admiring postures (figures 7.17 and 7.18) and they become objects of the family gaze in association to Kōrankei’s red autumn leaves.



Figure 7.16: ‘Patient’ family photographic performances (photographs by the author).

The presence of small children in photographic performances partly regulates the photographer's postures. Photographing small children requires a lower camera angle (figure 7.17). Kneeling is a particularly common posture in the act of framing children. Parents are willing to kneel in order to capture their children's admiring smiles with red autumn leaves in the background.

Posing reflects the relationship between the photographers and the photographed. Humorous, admiring, and/or smart posing are enacted and directed to the photographer and the future viewer of the taken photographs. Through the performance of family gazing photography, the friendship, intimacy, sociality, and togetherness that bind family members/friends together become visible and tangible.

Figure 7.18 is a typical example of family gaze photography. The corporeal proximity is clear. By standing close and posing conventionally, the objects' bodies and their configuration display 'familiyness' and reflect intimacy at the heart of the crowded Bridge. Figure 7.19 also shows how intimacy and closeness are presented through posing in front of a camera. As Larsen suggests: 'such "intimate geographies" are produced by codified performances of visual and corporeal proximity: embraces and eye contact' (Larsen 2004: 142). Proximity between friends reflects their bond of friendship. They stand close and cuddle together in front of cameras with pleasing smiles. Each body is physically connected to each other. Their smiles amplify the intimacy and closeness. Thus, friendship and 'familiyness' are performed bodily and signs of intimacy and togetherness are inscribed into tangible and visible forms.

Tourist experiences at Kōrankei in autumn are shaped by the act of photography. Numerous tourists become photographers while tasting local delicacies, buying souvenirs, and making comments on the scenery. I agree with Jorn Urry's statement, 'photography gives shape to travel' (Urry 2002: 129), with regard to tourist practices in Kōrankei. Tourists' movements and experiences are regulated by their photographic performances. The enactment of nature and family/friends gazing, in particular, often immobilise tourist flows on the Bridge and the path.



Figure 7.17: Children's photographic performances (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.18: Framing at lower position. Family photographic performances (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.19: Visualising intimacy and closeness (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.20: Intersections of different gazes and performances (photograph by the author).

As Dean MacCanell denotes in his tourism book: ‘amateur photography permits the tourist to create his own touristic imaginary with himself and his family at the centre, or just off to the side of the great sight or moment’ (MacCannell 1976[1999]: 147). The point to be addressed here is that ‘just as the individual tourist is free to make his own final arrangements of signs and markers, the modernizing areas of the world are also free to assemble their own images in advance of the arrival of the tourists’ (MacCanell 1976: 142). The shifting interpretations and representations of tourist landscapes generate different meanings, functions and images through practices, performances and mobility.

In red autumn leaf viewing at Kōrankei, different gazes, posing and framing are simultaneously enacted in the same place (figure 7.20). Tourists appear obsessed with producing beautiful and pleasing images of the red autumn leaves while busy posing, smiling and framing their travel companions. I suggest that the constructed visibility and materiality at Kōrankei produces the multiple enactments of the two different gazes and performances where tourists, images, cameras and attitudes towards nature and friends/families intimately intersect.

7. 2 Performing Photography: Dogtooth Violet Viewing

The flower garden on which I focus in my second study is situated in Kōrankei near the Tomoe River, at an approximately five minute walk from Asuke’s town centre. Alongside the river, almost 4,000 maple trees and other trees, such as cherry blossoms, attract tourists throughout the year. The flower garden, which was constructed for tourism promotion in 1986 under ATA’s supervision, is situated on the east side of the Tomoe River, on a hill called Mt. Iimori. However, the natural setting has also been developed over recent decades. A range of tourist facilities, including an open-air folklore museum, restaurants, cafes and shops, have been constructed in the inner area of Kōrankei.

There is a community of wild dogtooth violets on one of Mt. Iimori’s slopes, whose preservation and nourishment was organised by the ATA in 1986. The flower garden

filled with dogtooth violets is one of the major features of Asuke as a tourist destination. It has charmed tourists in the spring time for over 20 years. Dogtooth violet (*katakuri*) is a small herbaceous perennial in the liliaceae family, which is said to take seven or eight years to bloom for the first time. It produces a single small pinkish flower at the beginning of spring and a pair of narrow, purple-spotted leaves grow at its lower middle. The flowering dogtooth violet is noticed for the beautiful scenery it creates heralding the onset of spring. Every year, the flowering of the dogtooth violets in Mt. Iimori in the early spring is covered by local newspapers and TV programmes.

The aim of promoting the dogtooth violet as a new tourist attraction was clear for the ATA – to attract tourists to Asuke in the spring time. The difference in parking space usage between November (32,778, autumn leaves season) and March (3,115) in 1986 urged the ATA to address the irregular distribution of tourist arrivals (Asuke Tourism Association 1998). One of the ATA's ways of dealing with this seasonal imbalance was to create a new attraction by cultivating flowers. Shinobu Yabu, an agricultural scientist at Wakayama University, offered his professional advice on plantings and flower growth management. Together with experimental plantings and extractions of the bulbs with the help of local residents, the enlargement of the gregarious flowering area was put into practice under the supervision of the ATA in 1987. Thus, flower viewing as a recreational activity was staged by the local tourism authority, and clusters of dogtooth violets at Kōrankei were developed as a tourist attraction. The object of the natural landscape, portrayed by the flower garden, in this case is not wild itself, but instead a well-organised garden.

Similarly to other items in destinations developed into tourist commodities, the clusters of dogtooth violets are described as Asuke's "regional" nature. Flower descriptions and photographs are found in a brochure compiled by the ATA in 1997 and including information on the history and cultural heritage of Asuke. The brochure, entitled *Shin (new) Sanshū Asuke*⁴⁴, introduces the clusters of dogtooth violets as representatives of Asuke's nature and seasonal beauty. Currently this

⁴⁴ The brochure contains geographical and historical information about Asuke town, and is on sale at bookshops in Asuke at 500 Japanese yen. It is targeted at both tourists and local residents in Asuke.

handy-size book is utilised as the ‘textbook’ for local guides on Asuke. Interestingly, an old version of the book, *Sanshū Asuke*, compiled by the ATA in 1979, did not have any articles on these flowers. This makes clear that the dogtooth violet was ‘rediscovered’ and ‘approved’ as an item to represent Asuke’s nature in the context of tourism.

Before moving on to an explanation of the inscription of images of dogtooth violets, there are several points that need to be considered with regards to the perception of nature by the Japanese. Firstly, dogtooth violets symbolise spring and are employed as a seasonal word or *kigo* for spring. Seasonal words are essential to the aesthetics and forms of *haiku* (Japanese verse form composed of seventeen syllables). *Kigo* is a fixed seasonal connotation which indicates a particular season and helps to convey the proper meanings of a poem. Here, we need to consider the metaphorical meaning of dogtooth violets which is commonly perceived as a symbol of spring. The use of Japanese traditional ways of seeing nature in poetry is also found in one of the *Shin Sanshū Asuke*’s articles on dogtooth violets. The article describes an ancient poem⁴⁵, composed by one of the most popular ancient Japanese poets, depicting a scene of dogtooth violet and giving a general description of the flower:

The eighty maiden,
Busy at the officers at court,
Bustle about
Drawing water from the temple well
Where this pink sweet-lily blooms.

(Translated by Cranston 1993: 467)

The poem depicts the scenery of eighty maidens drawing water from a well where the dogtooth violets are in bloom. Although natural imagery in classical Japanese poetry is used in a different context, it is possible to detect the influence and appropriation of the traditional perception of nature in relation to the construction of the tourist gaze. Thus, it can be argued that the dogtooth violet is considered not only

⁴⁵ The poem was drawn from *Manyōshū*, the oldest compilation by imperial command in ancient Japan (around the 8th century) and composed by Yakamochi Ōtomo, one of the most famous poets and compilers of *Manyōshū* at the time.

as a flower which represents nature but also a cultural artefact which conveys certain aesthetics.

The notion of dogtooth violet as an aesthetic object which reflects a way of seeing nature by the Japanese can be observed in the tourism promotional materials on Asuke. The visual inscription of the dogtooth violet in clusters as a natural tourist landscape has been developed by the ATA. The ATA's tourism promotion has been actively involved in the popularisation of this particular flower through visual materials. The oldest poster for dogtooth violet viewing at the archives of the Asuke Museum was produced in 1989 by the ATA, which has since produced tourism posters featuring the dogtooth violet almost every year. The posters are composed of four elements: dogtooth violets in clusters (and/or single flower), captions, the place name and travel information, such as public transportation. Figure 7.21 is an example of a tourism poster produced by the ATA in 2000. The common visual representation of the dogtooth violets portrays the flowers in clusters while tourists or local residents are totally absent from the pictures. In some cases, a close up of a single dogtooth violet is the only object depicted in the poster.

In fact, the size of the flower clusters constitutes the main appeal to the tourists. As the director of the ATA emphasised 'because we are not photographers, at least, what I want to show to people is the size [of the cluster]. Well, colour and shape of dogtooth violets are too, but one of the important things is the size of the cluster'⁴⁶. The uniqueness of the dogtooth violets in Asuke is linked to the spaciousness of the cluster. This is also reflected in the design of the tourism posters related to the dogtooth violet viewing produced by the ATA. Most of the posters depict dogtooth violets blooming in clusters and aiming to stressing the unique size these flower clusters have in Asuke. The local tourism authority is actually responsible for this new visual strategy of dogtooth violets natural landscapes, which is currently becoming the typical image of Asuke's dogtooth violets.

⁴⁶ From interview in April 2008.



Figure 7.21: Poster of dogtooth violets in cluster produced in 2000 (photograph by the author; reproduced with the permission of the Asoke Tourism Association).

In addition to that, the solitary image of the dogtooth violet became another essential figure in the flower's visual representation. Postcards sold in Asuke portray close ups of one or two of dogtooth violets in unfocused and blurred backgrounds. The fuzzy background generates soft impressions and flatters salient objects while rendering a fantastical and magical atmosphere to the photographs. Similarly to the images of the flowers in clusters, the image of the solitary flower is entirely free of any tourist depictions. Any 'noise', such as the busy tourists at the flower garden, is eliminated and the photographs of single dogtooth violets delight tourists' eyes and guide them towards the appropriate framing of gazing the flower; this way the dogtooth becomes a metaphor of tranquillity.

The posters' captions are also important elements in inscribing the cultural meanings of dogtooth violets. The meaning of photography is determined by related descriptions and the contexts in which photographs are employed (Price 1994). Descriptions not only provide further information about the photographs, but most importantly, they regulate how to look at them by directing the viewers' practices of gazing and photographing.

'Dogtooth violet smiling *sweetly* under warm sunshine'

(Poster in 1998. Translation and Italics by the author)

'Dogtooth violet whispering "*spring* has come", its figure looking at the ground *prettily*, looks like a *maiden*. Now dogtooth violets in Kōrankei are in bloom'

(Poster in 1999. Translation and Italics by the author)

'Do you know dogtooth violet? Its figure is like an *adorable maiden* whispering the arrival of *spring* to calm visitors' minds. Now *spring* has come to Kōrankei, dogtooth violets are in bloom'

(Poster in 2000. Translation and Italics by the author)

The resemblance of each caption used in the visual tourism materials for the dogtooth violet is striking. The above captions express certain images of the dogtooth violet by employing specific words, such as 'sweetly', 'prettily', 'adorable', and

‘maiden’, all of which are linked to ‘spring’. The dogtooth violet is often called the ‘spring ephemeral’, a term used to describe wild flowers coming into bloom in early spring and fading quickly. In these captions, the flower is personified as a ‘maiden’ and becomes a metaphor of spring. Thus, the symbolic association between dogtooth violets and seasonality is reinforced in the process of the ATA’s construction of tourist landscapes.

The resemblance of this meaning to the ancient poem that I quoted earlier is obvious. The symbolic meaning of dogtooth violets, depicted in the ancient poem, still influences the ATA’s contemporary image-making activity for the promotion of tourism. In fact, an interview with the director of the ATA⁴⁷ showed that the ideas for the descriptions and captions of dogtooth violets in the promotional materials came from several books containing professional descriptions of the flower. Subsequently, it can be argued that the aesthetic conceptions that derived from the ancient poem are still actively utilised and frame contemporary tourist imaginaries of nature.

The analysis of the tourism posters and postcards that depict dogtooth violets in clusters also reveals that photography helps not only to visualise the construction of idealised and beautified scenery but also to create objects of tourist gaze. Professional photographers actively create idealised and aesthetically pleasing images of tourist sites by excluding cars, people and bad weather from their shots (Crawshaw and Urry 1997). ATA has similarly constructed the dogtooth violets garden as a beautiful and saleable landscape by selecting pleasing objects, arranging natural elements and capturing the cultural values of the flower. Such photographic techniques and strategies can be regarded as an attempt to create objects of the tourist gaze with specific reference to conventional aesthetics towards nature.

However, it is worth noting that the tourist landscapes of dogtooth violets are not only constructed visually and textually, but also developed materially. In conjunction with the popularisation of dogtooth violets blooming in clusters at Asuke, the ATA’s preservation and cultivation activities resulted in the gradual development of space.

⁴⁷ From interview in April 2008.

According to the director, the size of the dogtooth flowering area is now approximately 5000m² whereas before the commencement of the flowers' preservation action in 1985 it was only between 2000 and 2500 m². As tourist arrivals increased, some 'notorious' types of behaviour, such as plucking out dogtooth flowers in bloom and squashing the flowers when photographing, appeared. The ATA needed to pay more attention to the management of the flowering area. In response, the path across the slope of Mt. Iimori was picketed with rope banisters and the flowering area itself became a no-entry zone. There are two wide clusters of dogtooth violets on the slope, and the path was arranged around them. Benches are placed around the garden for tourists. In the next section, I will discuss the results of my visual ethnographic research in order to show how the dogtooth flowers landscapes are enacted and performed by tourists and how their performances at the garden are regulated by material designs developed by the ATA.

7.2.1 Photographic Performances at the Flower Garden

Nearly all tourists travel to Asuke by car and most tourists who come to see the dogtooth violets park their car at the main parking spaces located near the flower garden. The dogtooth violets' flowering area is located across the north side of one of Mt. Iimori's slopes. The typical spring tour includes strolling in the garden; a walk in Kōrankei lasts about ninety minutes, excluding the time for a break/lunch in the restaurants/cafes. Approximately thirty minutes are enough to go around the entire garden and take some photographs during a leisure walk. Most of the tourists that have cameras will stop in front of the dogtooth violets clusters to photograph them.

My ethnographic research in Kōrankei showed that older tourists predominantly visit the site during weekdays whereas families and young couples are more abundant during weekends. Tour buses also bring a large number of elderly tourists to Asuke during weekdays. They tend not to stay for long because they have limited time, based on tight bus schedules, to go around the garden and capture scenic shots.

Some tourists carry SLR cameras while others have been observed with handy automatic digital cameras and mobile phone cameras. In particular, solo tourists were most likely to bring SLR cameras, often with tripod stands. It seems that the difference in the type of camera used is an important indicator of the tourists' photographic performances. The appearance of tourists often differs according to the camera types they hold. The clothes, bag sizes and shoes worn by solo tourists with big SLR cameras are often different from those of tourists with handy digital cameras. For instance, some tourists bring huge backpacks with tripod stands and wear comfortable trainers. Their equipment states that they have come to Kōrankei to take photographs, not just to ramble around the site or the town centre without capturing the natural scenery. The time invested in changing lenses or finding better locations to shoot their photographs reflects passion and desire for 'proper' shots of the garden. Additionally, the number of photos taken is also different between the two groups of tourists. My interviews with tourists with SLR cameras showed that an astonishing number of photos were taken, such as 500 in one day, while the other group of interviewees (those using handy automatic digital cameras) usually reported taking approximately 15 to 50 photos. It is clear that the camera plays an important role as a tool not only in creating memories (Crawshaw and Urry 1997, Yeh 2008) but also in shaping tourists' performances, behaviour and fashion.

Even though the camera types differ according to tourists' interests and purposes, the photographic performances by both tourists with SLR cameras and tourists with handy digital/mobile cameras take place in fairly similar ways and locations. Figure 7.22 shows a queue of tourists waiting for the best timing to shoot the dogtooth violets. In fact, they are eagerly waiting for the afternoon sunshine to appear along the path and in front of the dogtooth violet clusters. Irrespective of the kind of camera in use, it seems that it is essential to the tourists to photograph the flowers at this particular spot to produce 'proper' images at the 'right timing'. Actually, the path itself goes around the major clusters in the garden so that the visitors can never miss out on the flowers 'beautifully' blooming. This is where most of the dogtooth violets' images are reproduced by tourists; some of them make only a brief stop to photograph while others stay for much longer. This 'traffic jam' that takes place in front of the major clusters in the garden reveals the intensity of the tourists'

photographic performances and how it is related to various factors, such as weather and time, in that limited space.

Some tourist-photographers occupy more space than others in their efforts to create 'artistic' pictures using tripod stands. They often remain standing or sitting and patiently wait to get the desired backlight that will give a pleasing effect to their dogtooth violets' pictures. Clearly, these tourists know where and how to capture their shots so as to recreate their own images of dogtooth violets through photography. As Minca discusses in his study of European tourist-photographers at the world-wide famous symbolic landscape site, Jamaa el Fna, in Marrakech, tourists seem to be 'aware of their "appropriately" dominant position, of their choice of the right framing, the right perspective, at the right time of day' (2007: 442). Although the photographers' queue makes the path more crowded and creates a 'traffic jam' in the garden⁴⁸, it also provides us with evidence of the extreme patience and tolerance in waiting tourists with camera have.

Figures 7.23-7.25 depict other performances of tourist photography that frequently take place within the garden. In these, tourists are bodily and materially involved in capturing the object. The experience of producing photographs here is not only through capturing the beauty of dogtooth violets, but also through actively engaging in certain body movements and postures. My ethnographic observation in the garden revealed that tourists' postures and movements are particularly diverse and flexible. In order to get lower view points and capture close-up shots from inside the flower, several positions are deliberately employed by tourists. Squatting and kneeling on the path are common postures of photographing whereas lying down on the path, a seemingly 'curious' and 'excessive' posture, is also often observed. As Bærenhold et al. note: 'tourists invest time and creativity in producing pleasing images with pictures, in experimenting with composition, depth, choice of motif' (2004: 81).

⁴⁸ This created a serious problem to the ATA in terms of management of the flower area. The ATA has received a number of complaints due to photographers staying in front of the cluster for a long time.



Figure 7.22: Queue of tourist-photographers (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.23: Photographic performances: ‘squatting’ (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.24: Photographic performances: ‘lying down’ (photograph by the author).



Figure 7.25: Photographic performances: ‘stretching’ (photograph by the author).

Material spatial elements in the garden partially condition the photographic performances that can take place in the garden. Tourist performances here are not separated from the material design of places. Tim Edensor and Uma Kothari discuss in their study how material design, regulation and effects encourage tourist performances and experiences (Edensor and Kothari 2004). They argue that performances in familiar tourist spaces are conditioned to 'specific materialities and the ways in which embodied subjects physically interact with space and objects' (2004: 197). In order to produce 'proper' pictures, tourist-photographers try to reach the dogtooth flowers from beyond the ropes and stretch their bodies and arms as much as possible, sometimes with half of their bodies beyond the designated areas. The ropes and wooden sticks are partly responsible for the diversity of tourists' postures and movements in the flowering area (figure 7.25). The path and rope fence are not merely architectural and spatial elements which may disrupt normative values and roles in tourist sites. They also condition and enforce tourists' curious bodily postures and movements. The photographic performances enacted in the garden are strongly affected by the 'surfaces, textures, temperatures, atmospheres, smells, sounds, contours, gradients and pathways' of the place (Edensor and Kothari 2004: 197). Photographic performances are partially conditioned by the 'affordance' between the environmental places and humans (Gibson 1986, for a discussion on affordance and performance see, Urry 2002, Larsen 2004). Thus the tourist performance that takes place in the flowering garden is enacted not only through enthusiasm for landscaping nature in an appropriate fashion, but also through the interplay between embodied enactments of tourists and Asuke's tourism development, which have afforded particular constructions of the garden.

Figures 7.26 and 7.27 illustrate photographically 'reconstructed' images of dogtooth violets through the tourist gaze at Asuke. According to my interview data, there are two most popular compositions for photographs of dogtooth violets (figures 7.26 and 7.27): one depicts dogtooth violets blooming in clusters, and the other focuses on a single or a couple of flowers. Note that these compositions resemble those of the tourism poster and postcard images I discussed earlier.



Figure 7.26: ‘Reconstructed’ image of dogtooth violets 1 (photograph by a tourist).



Figure 7.27: ‘Reconstructed’ image of dogtooth violets 2 (photograph by a tourist).

The distinctive appearance of the dogtooth violet also conditions the ‘excessive’ body postures adopted by the tourist photographers. The unique marking that appears in the middle of the flower when in bloom attracts tourist photographers to look into the core of the flower. Some tourists have actually claimed that a dogtooth flower’s relaxed petals and the markings on their inner side are considered as key objects to be photographed. ‘There is the marking inside flower, right? I like that’ (elderly male tourist with SLR camera, with his partner, Interview 2-3). One interviewee stated that he attempted to shoot from very low positions in order to capture the marking inside the flower. Some experienced tourist-photographers explain the importance of shooting the very centre of the flower: ‘to capture the pistil and stamen is important in shooting flowers because it becomes the energy of the pictures’ (elderly male tourist with SLR camera, with his two friends, Interview 2-4), and ‘[it’s necessary to focus on] the whole flower, I mean, the centre of flower’ (middle-age male tourist with SLR camera, with his family, Interview 2-9).

In addition, the downward facing petals of dogtooth violets seem to charm tourists in the garden, as dogtooth violets usually face sideways or downwards when in bloom. For example, one interviewee said: ‘I photograph ones with downward facing petals as much as possible’ (elderly male tourist with SLR camera, with his partner, Interview 2-3). Another tourist suggested that: ‘the dogtooth violet’s uniqueness is its downward facing petals’ (elderly male tourist with SLR camera, with his two friends, Interview 2-4). For the tourist-photographers, the flower’s appeal lies in the ‘prettiness’ and ‘sweetness’ of its appearance. To quote an interviewee: ‘I think the colour, purple (petals)...it looks pretty...and the way they bloom, isn’t it?... For instance their petals will be facing downwards in the end...there are kind of marking in the middle of the flower, I like it...’ (elderly male tourist with SLR camera, with his two friends, Interview 2-3). ‘They are definitely gentle flowers’ (elderly female tourist with single-use camera, with her family, Interview 2-7). ‘My impression is they are pretty...they have soft, gentle and warm spring colour and flower’ (middle-age male tourist with SLR camera, with his family, Interview 2-9). ‘They are pretty...and the colour is gentle’ (elderly female tourist with her partner, Interview 2-11). Thus, the dogtooth violets’ physical features are explicitly interpreted through sensibilities.

The dogtooth violets are re-inscribed as a symbol of 'spring' through tourist photography. Obviously, shooting 'spring' is one of the major motifs that tourist photographers can have. One experienced tourist-photographer describes his passion and fondness for dogtooth violet image in the following way:

In short, this time, in the case of an ordinary spring flower, I want to photograph with a macro lens to show the image of growing flowers, what's called the atmosphere of spring, which shows that spring will be soon, in April and it'll be warm, I closeup flowers to show that it's blooming and getting warm, which is my aim of photographing...I think we need to show sense of the season...Japanese cherry is beautiful though, dogtooth violet has soft atmosphere which their pinkish petals produce. It suits image of spring I guess.

(middle-age male tourist with SLR camera,
with his family, Interview 2-9)

The above statement shows that producing images of spring, images that represent a sense of season is important to this specific photographer. His aim is to depict 'spring' through pictures of dogtooth violets, which means that for him, shooting pictures is more than just documentation. Dogtooth violets are conceived as a visible reference for spring or something that heralds the coming of spring. In other words, a dogtooth violet is a symbolic evocation that is assigned the value of 'sweetness', 'girl or maiden' and 'spring'. Through such photographic performances and interpretations, the cultural meanings of dogtooth violets are repeatedly inscribed. Thus, the aesthetics of the dogtooth violets are photographically consumed and continually reproduced by contemporary tourists.

Producing images of dogtooth violets appears to be part of an 'active signifying practice' (Urry 2002: 128). As stated by Urry: 'everyone also becomes an amateur semiotician' (2002: 128). Similar to tourists in other destinations, here in Asuke's flower garden every tourist becomes a photographer and amateur semiotician through the act of photographing. It is precisely an 'attempt to construct idealised images which beautify the object being photographed' (Urry 2002: 128) and to create 'undisturbed natural beauty' through photography (Urry 2002: 43).

Such tourist performances at the flowering area are strongly regulated by the semiotic meanings of visual images represented through tourism promotion by the ATA. Inscriptions of cultural meanings of dogtooth violets are performed and reinforced through the repetition of photographing that involves active body movements and postures. In that sense, tourist landscapes are reproduced in photography through tourist practices.

Consuming the aesthetics associated with nature has a strong effect in the manipulation of landscape in the context of tourism. The dogtooth violets' landscapes are repeatedly framed by tourists with cameras. The practice of tourist photography is an attempt to reproduce 'ready-made' aesthetics signified by the dogtooth violets. It is also an endless process of inscribing aesthetics that have been manipulated by the local tourism authority and other tourism visual materials.

This discussion of consuming manipulated aesthetics can be linked to the concept of 'postemotionality', which characterises contemporary late modern society (Meštrović 1997). Sociologist Stjepan Meštrović, argues that emotions are the salient feature of mass industrial societies and he discusses how the 'mechanization of the emotions' is embedded in late modern social life. He further discusses how contemporary news are narrated by linking them to emotions and manipulating what he calls 'quasi-emotions', including 'niceness' and 'curdled indignation'. Through the photos and narrations of the tourists and their bodily immersions in photography, new meanings are also added to photographs and photographic experiences. Tourists' enthusiasm for photography extends beyond the visual consumption of the manipulated photographic objects.

Tourists with SLR cameras differ from those using handy automatic and/or mobile cameras, especially as far as their skills and passion for photography are concerned. Manual cameras, with their adjusting shutter speeds and lens diaphragms, indicate the desire for more 'artistic' and 'professional' photographs. Handling this type of camera requires users to have more skill, knowledge, money, as well as a passion for photography not shared by automatic compact camera/mobile camera users. I suggest that for tourists the use of new forms of technology is an experiment, a creative

activity involving an interaction with nature and its representations. For example, one tourist said:

Today, I want to try taking photos with a wide-angle lens. I want to know whether the wide-angle lens works well...I don't know how it works because this is first time I've used it...Normally, I've used macro lens or telescopic lens; now, I just want to try photographing by approaching and using only the wide-angle lens.

(elderly male tourist with SLR camera,
with his partner Interview 2-5).

Furthermore, some tourists carry multiple lenses in their bags and use them to capture various shots of the flower. For some interviewees, this process reflects their passion for elaborating their own aesthetics through photographic skills and techniques. Their initial aim is not only to photograph dogtooth violets but primarily to develop their own aesthetics. Experimenting with a range of lenses, different shutter speeds and various compositions and framing, becomes, in this context, a valid reason for a trip to Asuke.

Tourist-photographers at the flower garden continue to reproduce visual images of dogtooth violets in clusters. In the process of tourist landscape production and reproduction, cultural values are repeatedly inscribed according to the producer's intentions and interests. Feelings, emotions and sensibilities inscribed into tourist landscapes are recycled, simulated and reproduced through the practice of tourism. Thus, a tourist landscape is a space in which transformations and combinations of symbolism, desire, and social practice take place. I will now discuss the broader themes on gazing practices and performances by drawing on notions that arose from my two case studies of Kōrankei. This will allow me to gain a better insight into the culture of landscape experiences in the context of Japanese domestic tourism.

The two ethnographies concerning the nature viewing activities as modern tourism practices reveal the implications of constructed natural landscapes for the formation of the photographing bodies. In other words, constructed natural landscapes are continually reproduced through embodied (gazing and photographing) practices and performances. Drawing from the discussion on non-representational geographies in

chapter one, I argue here that the power of the constructed tourist landscapes strongly affects tourists' desires and strategies in capturing Asuke's nature and the formation of the photographing bodies. The two ethnographies demonstrate that the use of cameras or the act of capturing 'nature' affects the formation and enactment of the photographing bodies in the sites. The photographing bodies in Asuke are partially formed by the cultural meanings of the tourist landscapes which the ATA have produced. The research findings presented in this chapter suggest that tourist landscapes are not merely considered a way of attracting tourists but also as means of practicing new/conventional meanings and values through the act of photographing. In this sense, the photographing body can be regarded as part of the practice of landscapes. The process of the reproduction of tourist landscapes in contemporary Japan can be traced through the investigation of embodied practices and performances in tourist sites.

The two visual ethnographies on which this chapter focused indicate that Japanese tourists seem very busy with practicing nature viewing activities. They are constantly performing romantic gazing and family gazing in turn. Although they often make a brief stop to take photographs, they hardly slow down and keep moving around Kōrankei. Drawing on Edensor's analysis of Indian tourists' performances at Taj Mahal (Edensor 1998), I. M. Daniels points out some similarities between the Japanese and the Indian in their tourist behaviours (2001a). Both Indian and Japanese tourists prefer to travel in groups and visit famous sites (I. M. Daniels 2001a). Additionally, Indian tourists move around quickly without being slowed down by romantic gazing and 'reflexive contemplation' (Edensor 1998: 115). Similarly, I. M. Daniels' study on the practices of Japanese tourists at Miyajima in Hiroshima, Japan, suggests that Japanese tourists too travel at a fast pace 'without being particularly contemplative about their experiences' (I. M. Daniels 2001a: 126).

I agree with I. M. Daniels' conclusion in the light of the Japanese domestic tourism practices. My data suggest that the Japanese tourists' visual experiences and place consumption take place at a relatively fast pace during red autumn leaf viewing. Japanese tourists at Kōrankei are also actively involved in performing romantic gazing. However, they are busy contemplating photograph compositions, finding

locations, catching best moments, changing camera lenses. It seems justified that they invest time, creativity and passion in performing romantic gaze as shown in the two landscaped sites of Asuke under investigation. However, rather than regarding romantic gazing as a contemplative act, I suggest that the act of looking at nature is the consumption of constructed visuality. Performing nature viewing is a consuming gesture that is regulated and ordered by tourism discourses and representations. Constructed natural landscapes do not merely shape tourists' preconceptions but also guide the practices of viewing and consuming signs and meanings inscribed in the visual in determined ways. They hunt for culturally prescribed viewing spots without being contemplative, thoughtful or serious.

However, it should be noted that Japanese tourists are not free from a reflexive and contemplative attitude. As we have seen in chapter three, urban dwellers travelled to the Japanese countryside in search of a lost 'Japaneseness', a need for self-identification that would suppress the alienation that the rapid socio-economic changes in post-war Japan had brought. Moreover, the practices of international tourism especially undertaken by individual tourists are tightly connected with a sense of identity or identity construction (for instance, Takai-Tokunaga 2007).

My data support the above argument by showing the importance of sociability in the photographic practices in domestic tourism. As the first case study on red autumn leaf viewing has revealed, family gazing plays an important role in the practices and performances of natural landscapes at Kōrankei. Although during my fieldwork I have encountered some tourists travelling to Asuke alone, most of them come to the area with travel companions with whom they spend more than half the time of their visit. Besides, I was astonished by tourists' obsession with the consumption of local food and souvenirs on which illustrations of maple leaves are imprinted at red autumn leaf viewing. Souvenirs as a return gift, a distinctive practice in the Japanese culture of travel (S. Guichard-Anguis 2009, Oedewald 2009), are meant to be taken back to family, friends and colleagues. Thus, the custom of the return gift (*omiyage*) serves to maintain sociability and social relations within one's community.

In this chapter, we have seen that the diversity of landscape experiences is regulated by constructed visibility which allows particular places, objects and moments to be seen and performed by tourists in determined ways. Tourist experiences at Kōrankei are composed of corporeal movements and enactments of different kinds of gazing performances. It is a playful search for signs visually and materially constructed. Contemporary Japanese tourism may be portrayed as an encounter with nature, and the picturing of friendship or ‘familyness’. The landscape experiences of Japanese tourists are composed of progressive performances of different gazes and multiple ways of seeing. In her research on the material culture of the Japanese house and changing familial relationships, and drawing on Moeran’s work, I. M. Daniels concludes that: ‘the Japanese...are very aware of the ways in which each frame functions to affect their social behaviour...they consciously mould both space and time to fit in with theses frames’ (I. M. Daniels 2001b: 225-226). Japanese tourists may be more conscious about being playful and adapting their behaviour within changing landscapes and so they manipulate and perform different gazes accordingly.

Conclusion

The tourist landscape we touched upon in this chapter is the interface where creative production and reproduction in a variety of fashions and actors occurs. I argued that the practices of natural landscapes continuously shape and re-shape tourist places, imaginaries and experiences through corporeal movements in and with tourist places. While the inscription of meanings into the landscapes is regulated by tourist discourses, tourists’ interests and intentions help to frame tourist landscapes through photography. Landscape experiences are never just the act of seeing or photographing scenery, but they must also be considered as an experience of sensibilities and aesthetics underpinned by corporeal movements. Photographic performances are useful in exploring the act of viewing and interacting with nature in relation to Japanese domestic tourism. They constitute a common and ubiquitous act in tourist sites, which enables us to capture the dynamics of relations between the photographer and the photographed.

My two empirical studies revealed how ‘natural’ landscapes are performed and enacted by Japanese tourists through photography and they showed the diversity of nature viewing tourism space. My discussion showed that the nature viewing activity does not merely involve seeing/photographing nature and its landscapes. More than that, it is a set of relations of performances: walking, chatting, eating, looking up, stretching, kneeling and smiling. Such performances are composed of corporeal movements while material designs partially regulate their performances and experiences. At the same time, images, texts, metaphors and signs also influence the production of tourist photography within the sites.

In the first study, the analysis of the official map on red autumn leaf viewing showed that nature viewing is more than just ‘seeing nature’; it involves a diverse and complex collection of practices. In particular, I concentrated on the ways photographic performances regarding red autumn leaf viewing are enacted by Japanese tourists. I showed that examining the gazing and photographing practices in tourist sites allows analyses of the fluidity of relations between different roles of tourist – the photographer and the photographed. My visual ethnography revealed that red autumn leaf viewing produces a place where multiple gazes – gaze on nature and gaze on family/friend – and performances intersect intimately.

In contrast, the second study emphasised the diversity of bodily enactment through tourist photography. I first examined the construction of the ‘photographed’ site by the ATA through their practices of producing visual images and their captions. The dogtooth violet in Kōrankei is deliberately constructed as a metaphor of ‘spring’ and ‘maiden’ and also represented as unique regional product. By linking it to seasonality, idealised and beautified images of the specific flower are created. Furthermore, the tourist landscape of dogtooth violets is also developed materially. The development of material design is one of the main ways to produce the stage for photographic performances enacted by tourists. The reproduction of dogtooth violets’ images through photographic performances revealed that visual consumption and bodily enactments at the site are conditioned by the symbolic meanings of landscape as proposed by tourism promotion. Producing images of nature in tourism sites appears

to be part of signifying practices, inscribing nature and seasonality metaphorically. However, it should be noted that different aesthetics and values are also repeatedly added to the images and experiences that the ATA produced by the tourist photographers themselves.

List of interviews conducted at Kōrankei

1. Red autumn leaf viewing

- 1-1 Elderly couple
- 1-2 Elderly three females
- 1-3 Elderly couple
- 1-4 Elderly four females
- 1-5 A young daughter in her 20s with her parents and grandmother
- 1-6 Elderly couple
- 1-7 Elderly two female
- 1-8 Young couple
- 1-9 A female with her baby and baby's grandmother
- 1-10 A middle-aged female travelling with her partner

2. Dogtooth violet viewing

- 2-1 Elderly couple
- 2-2 A middle-aged male
- 2-3 Elderly couple
- 2-4 Elderly three males
- 2-5 Elderly couple
- 2-6 An elderly male
- 2-7 Grandparents with two small children
- 2-8 Elderly couple
- 2-9 A middle-aged male travelling with his family
- 2-10 Middle-aged couple
- 2-11 Elderly female travelling with her partner
- 2-12 An elderly male
- 2-13 Elderly couple
- 2-14 Elderly couple

Conclusion

This thesis examined the dynamic relationship between landscape and tourism in modern Japan. It discussed the processes by which the tourist landscape in Japan has been constructed, reinforced and practiced. My research also considered the complexities of the (re)production of tourist landscapes involving different social actors, such as tourists, residents and tourist industries or organisations. In this concluding chapter, I summarise the conceptual and methodological contributions of my thesis mainly in relation to my research aims and questions. Finally, I discuss directions for future research, highlighting some topics which the current research has not taken up yet but may be further developed.

The Conceptual and Methodological Contributions of the Project

As the historical analysis undertaken in chapters two and three has shown, the processes of the formation and transformation of the modern notion of landscape have deliberately employed two different values – the modern and the conventional or the new and the old – in order to introduce new ideas, meanings, and sensibilities to the public. I have argued that the introduction and popularisation of ‘Japanese landscape’ initiated by Shiga Shigetaka and his followers in the early period of modern Japan was an eclectic invention built upon the combination of western and conventional Japanese discourses. In this context I have stressed the importance of considering the oscillation between continuity and discontinuity in the shift of landscape representations and meanings. Following that, the discovery of the ‘Japanese countryside’ in the 1970s has made a case for the localisation of the idea of modern landscape by the post-war Japanese through the highly visual tourism campaign. The discovery of the ‘Japanese countryside’ also resulted in the revalorisation of the outer region of Japan through the eye of the self-orientalised

Japanese. In other words, the new consciousness of 'Japanese landscape' was re-discovered by the mass media while the campaign attempted to re-define domestic tourism as travels in search of a 'lost Japanese self'. As a consequence, the 'Discover Japan' campaign mobilised people to rural towns and villages and helped transform well-known landscapes as objects of the tourist gaze into a stage to practise selected consumption behaviours.

The recurring theme in my study has been the need to consider the crucial role of individuals/social groups in order to clarify the process of development and popularisation of the modern idea of landscape in Japan. By deploying historical and empirical findings on the 'discoveries' of Japanese modern landscape to generate theoretical understandings, I have demonstrated how in different historical periods particular social groups, such as Shiga and his followers (chapter two), a large advertising company (chapter three), and the local groups in Asuke (chapters five, six and seven) played key roles in the production of Japanese modern landscapes. Moreover, my argument highlighting the active role of particular social groups has suggested that modern tourism helps generate shifting authorships of Japanese landscapes. While chapters two and three have argued that the intellectual elite and industries acted as strong powers to discover new Japanese landscapes, Asuke's case study has demonstrated that local groups and organisations initiated by influential individuals are also considered as a constituent power of modern tourist landscapes in Japan. This idea is supplemented by the fact that, although Asuke has not been designated as national park and IPD, it has maintained its popularity until today. Such roles of local groups and organisations also represent a possible way in which modernity in Japan helps create tourist landscapes without the power of national authorities. In other words, the processes of formation of Asuke's tourist landscapes examined in this research have suggested a multiplicity of authorship of 'Japanese landscape' throughout modernisation.

Moreover, my thesis has shown that changing forms of modern Japanese landscapes were closely connected with the notion of 'Japaneseness'. In this sense, modern tourism has helped popularise new consciousness/meanings of 'Japaneseness' by

inscribing it into landscapes. It has produced both imaginative geographies of 'Japan' and new modes of landscape experiences associated with particular sensibilities.

By embracing the modern notion of landscape as an analytical tool, my thesis has shown that 'landscape' as a geographical metaphor is relevant for the investigation of the social construction of difference underpinned by modern tourism. My historical and empirical work has demonstrated that landscape serves as an ideological device to convey cultural meanings and values which mirror societal changes in the modern world. Such shifting cultural meanings were created and inscribed by the intentions and interests of producers/creators with the assistance of tourism. Moreover, I have shown how the representations of tourist landscapes reflect tourist imaginaries, expectations and desires by exploring the visual rhetoric of tourism posters and tourism discourses. On the other hand, my study has provided evidence for the power of the visual to not only inscribe and deliver new ideas and meanings but also to popularise them. For instance, my fieldwork research in Asuke has pointed out that there was a shift in the perception of the social environments among local residents through tourism development activities.

In addition, I have stressed the importance of considering the 'practice' dimension of landscape experience in order to investigate how constructed visibility and materiality are used and accepted. Looking at the practices of 'discovered' landscapes helps to comprehend the intersections of tourist imaginaries, experiences, and their relationship with bodily involvement in places. In this regard, my thesis has demonstrated that corporeal movements, bodily enactments, and material designs and architectures in tourism space are distinct aspects of practices of tourist landscapes. Furthermore, the research I have undertaken is intended to contribute to debates on tourist practices and performances, particularly in the context of Japanese domestic tourism (in chapters six and seven). I have mainly focused on the act of gazing and photographing enacted in tourism space and also considered the body as the moving public display for visual consumption.

More importantly, by combining two ideas of landscapes, my thesis has suggested that the (re)production of tourist landscapes is shaped and re-shaped simultaneously

both by visual and textual representations and embodied practices in tourist landscapes. It is an ever-changing process of intersecting imaginaries and experiences through corporeal movements in and with tourist places. I also have argued that exploring the actual landscape experiences of Japanese tourists through photography reveals the fluidity of relations between different social positions – the gazer and the gazed.

By conducting visual ethnographies with the help of interviews in tourist sites, my research has sought to contribute to the debate on visual methodology in particular (Pink 2001, G. Rose 2007). My thesis has employed visual ethnography and interviews in order to capture both how tourist landscapes are constructed visually and materially and how such constructed visibility and materiality are used by different social actors. I have illustrated the value of visual methods such as using a camera as a recording device and the taken photographs as ‘data’ although I am aware that such practices of photography and writing work produce ‘partial truth’. However, my research has demonstrated the dynamics of tourist imaginaries and experiences, stressing ‘what actually happens’ and ‘what tourists and other actors actually do’ in tourism space. In addition, employing a camera in a tourist site enabled me to capture unstrained tourists’ behaviours and performances at Asuke’s landscape sites. My visual ethnographies of Asuke have shown the usefulness of employing cameras in tourism studies to capture the ongoing processes of landscape experiences and place consumption. Moreover, my field research has shown that the choices of the locations and timing – where and when one could make conversation with tourists – are crucial matters for successful interview research in a tourist site while it has highlighted the difficulty of interacting with ‘busy’ tourists in tourist sites.

As an overseas Japanese student living in the UK, I have both experienced the ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ aspects of a Japanese tourist and researcher. This social position has generated a distinctive set of research perspectives and interpretations for my research which allowed me to discern meanings of tourism discourses, visual rhetoric of posters, and narratives on tourist photography and image-making activities. In particular, I have highlighted the importance of considering continuity

and discontinuity in the ‘discovery’ of Japanese landscapes by paying attention to historical contexts and cultural factors which performed key roles in developing modern tourist landscapes in Japan. Furthermore, being a Japanese researcher allowed me to understand the subtleties that lay behind interviewees’ words and behaviours such as silence and slow response. ‘Reading’ these subtleties contributed to establishing my analytical understanding of formation and practices of contemporary tourist landscapes in Asuke despite the fact that my work has contained the complexity of translation issues and the dilemmas of representing a ‘one culture’ in a different language, as discussed in chapter four.

Another significant contribution of this study is to show the potential of the European notion of landscape to an examination of the social construction of difference in a non-western society. Throughout the thesis I attempted to take into account differing cultural interpretations of key concepts, such as nature, in the formation and practices of Japanese landscape. My study hopefully gives an impetus to deepening our understanding of the multiplicity, heterogeneity and complexity of landscape experiences in modern tourism. However, while highlighting how distinctive the ways in which modern Japanese landscape have been constructed and practiced, the study also confirmed that the processes of the formation and popularisation of modern Japanese landscapes are not isolated from global concerns and debates associated with ‘nature’, ‘tradition’, ‘heritage’ and ‘local culture’. In this sense, my research results could be further situated in an Asian, and even global, context and framework.

Finally, the most significant contribution of this thesis is possibly that of providing new, non-western perspective to debates on the practices of modern tourism and their relationship with the reproduction of landscape. In other words, this study has highlighted in many ways the limitations of Western theories concerning tourism and landscape. In chapter one, I have pointed out the polarised focus on western experience and practice of modern tourism in the existing tourism scholarship with the sole exception of some research on Asian tourism and industries (for instance, Edensor 1998, Daniels 2001a, Gladstone 2006 and others). Throughout my empirical chapters, I attempted to foreground the varieties of practices of tourist landscapes,

highlighting the distinctiveness of Japanese tourism and landscapes. By so doing, my thesis suggests that there are different stories to be told with regards to the practice of modern tourism and landscapes in regions/countries outside Europe and North America.

The study emphasised the need to consider the difference of histories and meanings of landscape experiences in relation to the development of modern tourism and its practice. The results of my research suggest that there are distinctive meanings and approaches to landscape experience in relation to the concept of nature in Japan. As shown in chapters five and seven, the cultural production of landscape representations and experiences in Asuke are strongly connected to the practice and meaning of Japanese ‘traditional’ ways of viewing nature, i.e. visiting holy spots and/or *meisho* (famous places) with distinctive nature. In chapter six, I focused on landscape practices that are shaped by the traditional aesthetics of darkness, light and shadow. It is important to discern how ‘traditional’ landscape aesthetics and their cultural practices are entwined with the production of tourist landscapes. In the Japanese case study in particular, a special emphasis was placed on the importance of considering the ways ‘traditional’ landscape representations and practices are used and ‘recycled’ in order to develop the contemporary landscape representations and appreciation in modern tourism sites.

The above argument can be extended to the issue of the limitation of landscape theories in the West. Tourist landscapes reflect the ways in which Japanese have adopted and developed modern ideas that originated in the West. By examining different types of tourist landscapes in Asuke, I have provided accounts of cultural practices of landscapes that are shaped by traditional landscape aesthetics and modern ideas. The process of modernizing gaze is not merely the reception of the European idea of landscape but also the intergration of modern concepts and local traditions. The point I want to make here is that such insight is usually overlooked in the research of landscape studies focusing on the power and roles of visual geographical imaginations and its relationship with embodied practices. Moreover, I want to emphasise the significance of paying attention to the process of integrating the modern idea of landscape and local traditions/cultures.

My study indicated that there is a difference of the gazing practice in natural settings between Japan and the West. I provided evidence for this assertion by looking closely at Japanese photographic performances in natural tourist landscapes in Asuke (chapter seven). I have foregrounded different manners in which Japanese tourists gaze and photograph constructed nature such as autumn leaves and dogtooth violets in Asuke. For instance, as shown in chapter seven, while the act of gazing nature for western tourists is understood as ‘the semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze’ (Urry 2002: 150), Japanese tourists tend to move around quickly and be busy photographing and posing. The empirical findings suggest that there is a different practice of gazing nature undertaken in contemporary tourist space. This evidence partly rejects the idea of the romantic gaze elaborated by Urry (1990). At the same time, however, it suggests the limitation of the theoretical assumptions built on the western experience and histories of travel/tourism in exploring the practice of tourism and industries in contemporary society.

Directions for Further Research

As I complete the final stage of my research, several issues that I would like to investigate further have emerged. In terms of future research development, there are several areas in which my project could expand. Firstly, in the light of the emergent interest in the materiality of landscape representations (Della Dora 2009) and performative roles of images (see G. Rose 2003, Edwards and Hart 2004), exploring ‘landscape-objects’ (Della Dora 2009), such as tourist photography, postcards, and souvenirs on which images of famous and iconic scenery is imprinted, would shed new light on the fields both of landscape studies and tourism studies. Throughout my fieldwork, especially in Kōrankei during the red autumn leaves season, I found a huge amount of ‘landscape-objects’ of Kōrankei landscapes and maple leaves, such as small cakes in the shape of a maple leaf and wrapping papers of some local delicacies with a red autumn leaves pattern. An investigation of such ‘landscape-objects’ could produce useful findings in terms of how constructed geographical imaginations and meanings travel temporally and spatially, and what happens when they move through space and time.

In addition, future research could pursue the dynamics of the relationship between tourism development and formations of local identity. My study has stressed the changing ways of seeing the mundane environments of the local groups in Asume through the practices of image-making activities. Further research would be targeted towards a more detailed examination of the impacts of tourism development activity and the (re)formation of local identity. Moreover, with regards to tourism development and local industry, it would be an interesting topic for me to explore the ongoing objectification and commodification of iconic tourist landscapes developed by local industries. As I have mentioned above, seemingly local industries have actively engaged in the (re)production of Asume's tourist landscapes through the commercialisation of souvenirs. Exploring such a phenomenon would be a valuable field for understanding the changing forms of tourist landscapes through tourism related industries and strategic uses of constructed tourist landscapes undertaken by local industries.

Another appealing topic for future research from my perspective would be the investigation of the practices that take place after the tourists 'return home'. My analyses of practices of tourist landscapes in Asume have attempted to present 'what actually happens' and 'what people actually do and experience' in and with tourist landscapes. However, it would also be interesting to carry out a study of how people make use of their taken photographs in domestic space after they return home. For instance, I had an encounter with an elderly couple of tourists who mentioned that they often had gatherings with their travel companions, watching films and photographs taken during their travels. Another tourist, who was a friend of a local resident in Asume, told me that the Tankororin poster had been hanging on the wall of her room. Thus, future research could explore the 'domestic' dimensions and daily practices of the tourist landscapes and/or tourist photography to investigate the relationship between tourist imaginaries and experiences and people's everyday life.

Finally, one possible direction worth pursuing in the future would be to conduct comparative studies to explore the dynamic relationship between modern tourism and landscape. Such research could be carried out at several different geographical

locations. In particular, it would be useful to compare the formation and transformation of the notion of modern landscapes in non-western countries with my findings of tourist landscapes in modern Japan. Conducting comparative research in other non-western countries, which have distinctive histories of modernisation would provide substantial insights into the fields of both landscape and tourism studies.

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